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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES
I

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INTRODUCTION

The historian, Appian, was a native of Alexandria, Egypt. All that we know about him as an individual is gleaned from his own writings and from the letters of Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. It is supposed that he was born about A.D. 95 and that he died about A.D. 165. A fragment of his works found in recent years speaks of a war against the Jews in Egypt in which he had an adventure. This was probably the war waged by the Emperor Trajan to suppress the Jewish insurrection in that country, A.D. 116. In the preface to his history he says that he reached a high station in his own country and afterwards became a pleader of causes in the court of the emperors at Rome (probably as *advocatus fisci*) until he was appointed procurator by them. In order to be qualified for the latter office he must have been a Roman citizen of equestrian rank. The time of writing the preface is indicated as 900 years from the founding of the city, which would be during the reign of Antoninus Pius. A letter of Fronto to Antoninus is extant asking the appointment of his friend Appian as procurator, not to gratify his ambition, or for the sake of the pay, but as a merited distinction in his old age. Fronto vouches for his friend's honour and integrity. Appian says also in his preface that he had written an autobiography from which persons wishing to know more about him could obtain information. This work was not known to Photius in the ninth century, although Appian's historical works were all extant at that time.

Appian's plan is sketched in section 14 of his preface. It was not chronological but ethnographical, being in detached parts, corresponding to the wars carried on by the Romans with other nations and among themselves. The earliest detailed account of his works that has reached us is that of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 891. He wrote an encyclopedia of literature entitled the *Myriobiblon,* containing notices of 280 authors whose works were then extant. Those of Appian which he recorded were twenty-four in number, of which eleven have come down to us complete, or nearly so, namely: the Spanish, Hannibalic, Punic, Illyrian, Syrian, Mithridatic, and five books of the Civil wars. Extracts from other books have been preserved in two Byzantine compilations made by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus about A.D. 950, one entitled *Concerning the Embassies* and the other *Concerning Virtues and Vices.* Each of these books contains extracts from Appian and other ancient historians on the subjects named. Those of Appian from the former of the two compilations were first collected in a slovenly manner by Fulvio Orsini (Ursinus) in Rome and published in Antwerp in 1580. Those from the latter were reproduced with great fidelity by Henry de Valois at Paris in

1634, from a MS. belonging to his friend Peiresc. A few detached sentences have been found in the lexicon of Suidas and elsewhere. The history terminates at the death of Sextus Pompeius in the year 35 B.C., shortly after the division of the Roman world between Antony and Octavian.

The first publication of any of the works of Appian in modern times was a Latin translation by Petrus Candidus, private secretary to Pope Nicholas V. in 1452. The first printing of the Greek text was done by Carolus Stephanus at Paris in 1551. The most important critical revision and collation of the manuscripts was made by Professor J. Schweighäuser, of the University of Strassburg, published in 1785. The text used in the present translation is in the main that of Professor L. Mendelssohn, of the University of Dorpat, Russia, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1879–82. An important edition is that of Didot, Paris, 1877, which has a Latin version facing the text.

As the events recorded in Appian's history took place long before his own time, it is important to know what authorities he used. He makes mention of Polybius, Paulus Claudius, Hieronymus, Caesar, Augustus and Asinius Pollio as authors, in a way which implies that he is quoting from them. He mentions casually the names of Varro, Fabius Pictor, Cassius Hemina and Rutilius Rufus, but not in terms which imply any use of their works. He does not mention the writings of Livy, Sallust, Dionysius, or Diodorous, although the works of all these authors must have been within his reach. We are not without the means, however, of testing his narrative by those of other ancient writers. This has been a favourite hunting ground of German scholars for more than a century, and many learned treatises on the sources of Appian have resulted from their labours. That of Professor Schwartz, of the University of Göttingen, in the Classical Encyclopedia of Pauly-Wissowa, is the latest and best, and is a monumental work of its kind, but its author is more successful in demolishing the conclusions of his predecessors than in pointing out the true sources himself. He inclines to the opinion that they were Latin chiefly if not exclusively, and that for the republican era they were the official annalists whom he describes as "high born amateurs in whose hands historiography was placed," and says that "whenever they turned their leisure to give information to a public, ignorant and incompetent for criticism, to these amateurs, lying, particularly in a patriotic cause, was permitted even more than to the rhetorician."

Appian was a narrator of events rather than a philosophic historian. His style is destitute of ornament, but in the rhetorical passages, which are numerous, it is animated, forcible and at times eloquent. Occasionally he rises to the dignity of the best writers of the ancient world. The introduction to the history of the Civil Wars is an example of this kind. Here the events leading up to the tragedies of the Gracchus brothers move forward with a dignified and measured tread which has been imitated by many later historians but surpassed by none. It is the only account of the agrarian controversy by an ancient author giving both sides of that question.

The first book of the Civil Wars is perhaps the most valuable of the Appian series, since it spans the "twilight period" between Polybius and Cicero. Next to this in point of value is the history of the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage. It is the only detailed account of those events which has come down to us, and it is dramatic in a high degree. The source of this part of Appian may have been the lost books of Polybius, from whom a quotation is given in section 132 of the Punic Wars.

Appian has been severely censured for want of accuracy in details. According to modern canons of criticism accuracy is the first and indispensable requisite of the historian, but it was not so in the ancient world. General conformity to facts was, of course, necessary, but in most cases the aim of the ancient writer was to make an interesting book or to furnish a setting for the political ideas, or the moral principles, which he entertained. Appian was neither better nor worse in this respect than the average historian of his time. Professor Schwartz says truly that Appian's account of the struggle between Antony and the Senate in book iii. of the Civil Wars is not history but "historical novel writing," but he adds that "with all its disfigurations and inventions the great lines are worked out correctly and keenly, the inventions contributing in part to that very end." This criticism may be safely applied to a large part of Appian's writings.

It was the habit of ancient historians to put speeches into the mouths of their leading actors in order to present the ideas that moved peoples or political parties or factions, and sometimes to deliver the author's moral lectures to mankind. Thucydides did so, and his example, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, was "a fatal legacy to two thousand years of history-writing after him." Appian followed the fashion. The speeches which he delivered in this way are the best part of his work in point of style. We feel that here we are listening to the practised debater, the trained pleader of causes in the imperial courts. Professor Schwartz even puts the edict of proscription of the triumvirs (book iv, sec. 8–11 of the Civil Wars) in that category, although the author says that he has translated it from Latin into Greek.

In conclusion it may be said that the writings of Appian embrace matter of exceeding interest that no student of Roman history can afford to overlook.

To Theodore Lyman Wright, Professor of Greek in Beloit College, the translator is deeply indebted for helpful service in the revision of his work, and for numerous suggestions for bettering the phraseology.

H. W.

NOTE

Appian *Bell. Civ.* Book 1 ed. E. Gabba, Florence, 1958; ed. 2 1967; Book 5 ed. and translated E. Gabba, Florence, 1970.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγγράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὅρους ὅσων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε· ἐν μὲν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείονος μέρους, διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς στήλας περιπλέοντι νήσων ἄρχουσι πασῶν, καὶ ἠπείρων ὅσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὧν εἰσὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτοι Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα Λιβύων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ τούτων ὕπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νουμίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νουμιδίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λίβυες ὅσοι περιοικοῦσι τὰς Σύρτεις μέχρι Κυρήνης, Κυρήνη τε αὐτὴ καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσι, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ Αἰγύπτου, Αἴγυπτός τε αὐτὴ μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑῴων ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλουσίου διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ περιιόντι Συρία τε ἡ Παλαιστίνη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

PREFACE

1. Intending to write the history of the Romans, I have deemed it necessary to begin with the boundaries of the nations under their sway. They are as follows: In the ocean, the major part of those who inhabit the British Isles. Then entering the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules and circumnavigating the same we find under their rule all the islands and the mainlands washed by that sea. The first of these on the right hand are the Mauretanians of the coast and various other African nations as far as Carthage. Farther inland are the nomad tribes whom the Romans call Numidians and their country Numidia; then other Africans who dwell around the Syrtes as far as Cyrene, and Cyrene itself; also the Marmaridae, the Ammonii, and those who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt, and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

2. Here turning our course and passing round, we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part

μοῖρα Ἀράβων, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοίνικες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Φοινίκων ὕπερθεν ἥ τε κοίλη Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Παλμυρηνοί τε καὶ ἡ Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Εὐφράτην καθήκουσα, Κίλικές τε Σύρων ἐχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι Κιλίκων ὅμοροι, καὶ μέρος Ἀρμενίων, οὓς καλοῦσιν Ἀρμενίαν βραχυτέραν, παρά τε τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον ἄλλα ὅσα Ποντικὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα γένη. Σύροι μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίλικες ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφορῶσιν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ καὶ Καππαδόκαι ἔς τε τὰ Ποντικὰ γένη καθήκουσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀρμενίαν μείζονα, ἧς Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄρχουσι μὲν ἐς φόρου κομιδήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τοὺς βασιλέας. ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καταβαίνοντι ἔστιν ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος· ὅ τε γὰρ πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος καὶ ἡ Προποντὶς καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐπὶ δεξιά, καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἐκ δὲ λαιᾶς τὸ Παμφύλιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφω) ποιεῖ χερρόνησον, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες, Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Καρία μέχρι Ἰωνίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, ἐν δὲ μεσογείῳ Πισίδαι τε καὶ Λυδοί. τοσαῦτα ἔθνη τὴν χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πάντων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

3. Περάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον. ἀπὸ δὲ

of Arabia. The Phoenicians hold the country next to Palestine on the sea, and beyond the Phoenician territory are Coele-Syria, and the parts stretching from the sea as far inland as the river Euphrates, namely Palmyra and the sandy country round about, extending even to the Euphrates itself. The Cilicians come next to the Syrians, and their neighbours are the Cappadocians, and that part of the Armenian country called Lesser Armenia. Along the Euxine are other nations called by the common name Pontic, subject to the Roman rule. The Syrians and Cilicians border on the Mediterranean, the Armenians and Cappadocians extend to the Pontic nations and to the interior as far as Greater Armenia, which is not subject to the Romans in the way of tribute, and its people appoint their own kings. Descending from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Ionia we find the great peninsula bounded on the right by the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Aegean, and on the left by the Pamphylian or Egyptian sea, for it is called by both names. Some of the countries embraced in it look toward the Egyptian sea, namely: Pamphylia and Lycia and after them Caria extending to Ionia. Others look toward the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, namely: the Galatians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In the interior are the Pisidians and Lydians. These are the nations which inhabit this peninsula and all are under Roman rule.

3. Crossing from these coasts they rule other nations around the Euxine, the Mysians of Europe and the Thracians who border that sea. Beyond

Ἰωνίας κόλπος ἔστι θαλάσσης ὁ Αἰγαῖος, καὶ ἕτερος Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν. τοῦτο μῆκός ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ τῷ παράπλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα τοσαῦτα, ἥ τε Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὅσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἔθνη, αὐτή τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δὴ πάντων ἐθνῶν οὖσα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου παρήκουσα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὓς αὐτοὶ Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἀφορᾷ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥῆνον ποταμὸν ᾤκηται, Ἰβηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τελευτῶντες. καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου δηλώσω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἡ γραφὴ περιίῃ. νῦν δέ, ὅσον ὅροις μεγάλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν εἴρηται, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιοδεύοντι μοῖρά τε Μαυρουσίων ἂν εἴη τῶν παρ' Αἰθίοψι τοῖς περὶ ἑσπέραν, καὶ εἴ τι θερμότερον ἢ θηριῶδες ἄλλο Λιβύης μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑῴων. ταῦτα μὲν Λιβύης Ῥωμαίοις ὅροι, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμός τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχή, καὶ Κόλχοι παρὰ τὴν Εὔξεινον θάλασσαν ᾠκημένοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πελάγους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποταμοὶ δύο, Ῥῆνός τε καὶ Ἴστρος, μάλιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὁρίζουσι, καὶ τούτων Ῥῆνος μὲν ἐς τὸν

Ionia are the Aegean sea, the Adriatic, the straits of Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining Thracians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest country of all, extending from the Adriatic and bordering the greater part of the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the country of the Celts (whom the Romans call Gauls), some of whom face the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain and Celtiberia on the Northern and Western oceans as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to deal with each nation. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire along the sea.

4. On the landward side the boundaries are the part of Mauritania adjoining western Ethiopia and the tropical region, infested with numbers of wild beasts, which extends as far as eastern Ethiopia. These are the Roman boundaries in Africa. Those of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the kingdom of Greater Armenia, the Colchians who dwell along the Euxine sea, and the remainder of that coast. In Europe two rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, for the most part bound the Roman empire. Of these, the Rhine empties into the Northern

βόρειον ὠκεανόν, Ἴστρος δὲ ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον καταδιδοῖ. περάσαντες δέ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον ἄρχουσιν ἐνίων, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον, οὓς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὅροι μὲν οὗτοι κατ' ἤπειρον, ὡς ἐγγύτατα ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· 5. νῆσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰσίν, αἵ τε Κυκλάδες ἢ Σποράδες ἢ Ἰάδες ἢ Ἐχινάδες ἢ Τυρρηνίδες ἢ Γυμνησίαι ἢ ὅσας ἄλλας ὀνομάζουσιν ἑτέρως, περί τε Λιβύην καὶ τὸ Ἰόνιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μυρτῷον ἢ Σικελικὸν ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ὅσαι τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Εὔβοια καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη μικροτέρα τε καὶ μείζων, ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα. καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον περάσαντες, ἠπείρου μεγάλης μείζονα, τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εὔφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐδ' ἣν ἔχουσιν.

6. Τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ὄντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμόχθως τε καὶ μόλις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατειργάσαντο βεβαίως. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλεῦσιν ἐχρῶντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ προστάταις ἄρχουσιν ἐτησίοις. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ξενικῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε ὑπηγάγοντο. Γάιός τε

ocean and the Danube into the Euxine. On the other side of these rivers, however, some of the Celts beyond the Rhine are under Roman sway, and beyond the Danube some of the Getae, who are called Dacians. These, with the nearest approach to accuracy, are the boundaries on the mainland.

5. All the islands also of the Mediterranean, the Cyclades, Sporades, Ionian isles, Echinades, the Tuscan isles, the Balearic isles, and all the rest, whatever their different names, that are off the coast of Libya and in Libyan, Ionian, Egyptian, Myrtoan, Sicilian, and other Mediterranean waters, by whatever names called, also those which the Greeks by way of distinction call the great islands, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small—all are under Roman rule. Crossing the Northern ocean to Britain, which is an island greater than a large continent, they have taken possession of the better and larger part, not caring for the remainder. Indeed, the part they do hold is not very profitable to them.

6. Although holding the empire of so many and such great nations the Romans laboured five hundred years with toil and difficulty to establish their power firmly in Italy itself. Half of this time they were under kings, but having expelled them and sworn to have kingly rule no longer, they henceforward adopted aristocracy, and chose their rulers yearly. In about the two hundred years next succeeding the five hundred their dominion increased greatly, they acquired unexampled foreign power, and brought the greater part of the nations under their sway. Gaius

Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατυνάμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ἀσφαλῆ, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφύλαξε, μόναρχον δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι. καὶ ἔστιν ἥδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μέχρι νῦν ὑφ' ἑνὶ ἄρχοντι, οὓς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν ὅρκον αἰδούμενοι τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορας δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὃ καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων στρατηγῶν ὄνομα ἦν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πάντα βασιλεῖς.

7. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐγγυτάτω διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἥ τε πόλις μάλιστα κατεκοσμήθη, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ηὐξήθη, καὶ πάντα ἐν εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ καὶ εὐσταθεῖ προῆλθεν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀσφαλῆ. καί τινα καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθνεσιν οἵδε οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προσέλαβον, καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύναντο. ὅλως τε δι' εὐβουλίαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχοντες σώζειν ἐθέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἄπειρον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγώ τινας εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι, καὶ οὐ δεξάμενον βασιλέα ἄνδρας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρησίμους ἐσομένους. ἔθνεσί τε ἄλλοις, ἀπείροις τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ διδόασι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεόμενοι· καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνίοις προσαναλίσκουσιν, αἰδούμενοι καίπερ ἐπιζημίους ὄντας ἀποθέσθαι. τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐν

[Julius] Caesar having got the upper hand of his rivals possessed himself of the sovereignty, which he strengthened, systematised, and secured, and, while preserving the form and name of the republic, made himself the absolute ruler of all. In this way the government, from that time to this, has been a monarchy; but they do not call their rulers kings, out of respect, as I think, for the ancient oath. They call them imperators [emperors], that being the title also of those who formerly held the chief command of the armies for the time being. Yet they are very kings in fact.

7. From the advent of the emperors to the present time is nearly two hundred years more, in the course of which the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved towards a lasting prosperity. Some nations have been added to the empire by these emperors, and the revolts of others have been suppressed. Possessing the best part of the earth and sea they have, on the whole, aimed to preserve their empire by the exercise of prudence, rather than to extend their sway indefinitely over poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians, some of whom I have seen at Rome offering themselves, by their ambassadors, as its subjects, but the emperor would not accept them because they would be of no use to him. They give kings to a great many other nations whom they do not wish to have under their own government. On some of these subject nations they spend more than they receive from them, deeming it dishonourable to give them up even though they are costly. They surround the empire with great

κύκλῳ περικάθηνται μεγάλοις στρατοπέδοις, καὶ φυλάσσουσι τὴν τοσήνδε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ὥσπερ χωρίον.

8. Ἀρχή τε οὐδεμία προῆλθέ πω μέχρι νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο μεγέθους καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τις ὁμοῦ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν συναγάγοι, πολλὰ ἂν ἔτη φανείη. οἵ τε ἀγῶνες αὐτοις ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς περικτήσει μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἄλλας ἐπιούσας. οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἑτέρας ἐλπίδι προσέπταισαν· ἢ εἴ τις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διῆλθε, μικρὰ καὶ ὅδε δράσας εὐθὺς ἐπανῄει. ὅλως τε ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ δύναμις, καίπερ ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ δεινοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ἀδούλωτον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀήττητον κατασχεῖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξαι κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως αὐτῶν.

9. Ἥ τε τῆς Ἀσιας ἀρχὴ ἔργων μὲν πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδ' ἐς τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν Εὐρωπαίων παραβάλλεται δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει καὶ ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ προϊοῦσα· ὀλίγαις γὰρ μάχαις Ῥωμαῖοι τοσούτων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν κατέσχον ὅσων ἔτι κρατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ὑπερμαχομένων, τὰ

armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single stronghold.

8. No empire down to the present time ever attained to such size and duration. As for the Greeks, even if we reckon as one the successive periods of Athenian, Spartan, and Theban supremacy, which followed that most glorious epoch of Greek history, the invasion of Darius, and further include with them the Greek hegemony of Philip, son of Amyntas, we see that their empire lasted comparatively but few years. Their wars were waged not so much for the sake of acquisition of empire, as out of mutual rivalry, and the most glorious of them were fought in defence of Greek freedom against the aggression of foreign powers. Those of them who invaded Sicily with the hope of extending their dominion failed, and whenever they marched into Asia they accomplished small results and speedily returned. In short the Greek power, ardent as it was in fighting for the hegemony, never established itself beyond the boundaries of Greece; and although they succeeded wonderfully in keeping their country unenslaved and undefeated for a long period, their history since the time of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, the son of Philip, is in my opinion most inglorious and unworthy of them.

9. The empire of Asia is not to be compared, as to achievements and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined

δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐξετρίφθησαν. Ἀσσυρίων τε αὖ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὔτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκοιτο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἐτῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, τό τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἐς ἥμισυ νομίζω τῆσδε τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπαντᾶν, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπό τε δύσεων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὠκεανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω δι' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ τὸν ἑῷον ὠκεανὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ διεξέρχεται, καὶ ὅρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὠκεανὸς ἀρχομένου τε καὶ δυομένου τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἡγεμονεύουσι τῆς ἐντὸς οὔσης καὶ νήσων ἁπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν. Μήδοις δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἥ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὁ Παμφύλιος κόλπος ἦν καὶ μία νῆσος ἡ Κύπρος ἤ τί που ἄλλο σμικρὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν θαλάσσῃ· τοῦ τε Περσικοῦ κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦδε ἐκράτουν) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτου πέλαγός ἐστιν;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πάνυ σμικρὰ ἦν, καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ὑπήκουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνου μὲν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἔγεμεν οὐ μεμπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχωρα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ ταχυεργίᾳ διαλάμψασα ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐς ἄπειρον καὶ ἀμίμητον ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέοικεν ἀστραπῇ λαμπρᾷ· ἧς γε καὶ διαλυθείσης ἐς πολλὰς σατραπείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέλαμπε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοῖς

in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, a period which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire, I think, was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt up country to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean, so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. But the greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included only the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of that is open sea?

10. Again, the history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighbouring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own

ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνοις ἦν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἴκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ἱππέων τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολεμισταὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἅρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὅπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μυριάσι τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς πεζομαχίαν, ἐς δὲ ναυμαχίας κοντωτά, καὶ ὅσα σμικρότερα ἄλλα, δισχίλια, τριήρεις δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας μέχρι πεντήρους πεντακόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, καὶ σκεύη τριηρετικὰ διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγά τε χρυσόπρυμνα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου πομπήν, οἷς αὐτοὶ διαπλέοντες ἐπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὀκτακόσια, χρημάτων δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλάντων Αἰγυπτίων. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παρασκευῆς τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγών τε καὶ καταλιπὼν ὁ δεύτερος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς καὶ πορίσαι δεινότατος ἦν βασιλέων καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλουργότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέοντα. ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους· ᾧ δὴ μόνῳ ἀρχαὶ μεγάλαι καταλύονται.

11. Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν[1] ἔς τε τὴν περίκτησιν αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ καὶ φερεπονίᾳ καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερῆραν, οὔτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενοι μέχρι βεβαίως ἐκράτησαν, οὔτε συστελλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς· ὧν γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνίοτε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑτέρας

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[1] So Schw. for MSS. μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον.

country [Egypt] alone had an army consisting of 200,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 300 war elephants, and 2,000 armed chariots, and arms in reserve for 300,000 soldiers more. This was their force for land service. For naval service they had 2,000 barges propelled by poles, and other smaller craft, 1,500 galleys with from one and a half to five benches of oars each, and galley furniture for twice as many ships, 800 vessels provided with cabins, gilded on stem and stern for the pomp of war, with which the kings themselves were wont to go to naval combats; and money in their treasuries to the amount of 740,000 Egyptian talents.[1] Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king[2] of Egypt second in succession after Alexander, a monarch remarkable for his skill in raising money, for the lavishness of his expenditure, and for the magnificence of his public works. It appears also that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors through civil war, by which alone great empires are destroyed.

11. Through prudence and good fortune has the empire of the Romans attained to greatness and duration; in gaining which they have excelled all others in bravery, patience, and hard labour. They were never elated by success until they had firmly secured their power, nor were they ever cast down by misfortune, although they sometimes lost 20,000

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[1] The sum must be greatly exaggerated. Various attempts have been made to explain the error.

[2] Ptolemy Philadelphus, d. 247 B.C.

τέσσαρες, ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ λιμοί τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ στάσεις, ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιπίπτοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἕως ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τόδε προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὤναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν.

12. Καὶ τάδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς, μεγίστης δὴ τῶν προτέρων οὔσης πολὺ μείζων. ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνοντά με, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐντελῆ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰδεῖν ἐθέλοντα, ἀπέφερεν ἡ γραφὴ πολλάκις ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Μακεδονίαν ἢ ἐπὶ πρεσβείας ἢ συμμαχίας ἐς ἄλλα ἔθνη γενομένας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνῆγεν ἢ Σικελίαν ὥσπερ ἀλώμενον, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὄντων μετέφερεν, ἕως οὗ τὰ μέρη συνήγαγον ἐμαυτῷ, ὁσάκις ἐς Σικελίαν ἐστράτευσαν ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἢ ὁτιοῦν ἔπραξαν ἐς Σικελίαν, μέχρι κατεστήσαντο αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν παρόντα, ὁσάκις τε αὖ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπολέμησαν ἢ ἐσπείσαντο, ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρεσβείας ἐδέξαντο παρ' ἐκείνων, ἢ ἔδρασαν ὁτιοῦν ἢ ἔπαθον πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἕως Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος προσέλαβον, καὶ αὖθις ᾤκισαν αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνα, καὶ Λιβύην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. καὶ τόδε μοι κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, βουλομένῳ τὰ ἐς ἑκάστους ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καταμαθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν τῶν

men in a single day, at another time 40,000 and once 50,000, and although the city itself was often in danger. Neither famine, nor frequently recurring plague, nor sedition, nor all these falling upon them at once could abate their ardour; until, through the doubtful struggles and dangers of seven hundred years, they achieved their present greatness, and won prosperity as the reward of good counsel.

12. These things have been described by many writers, both Greek and Roman, and the history is even longer than that of the Macedonian empire, which was the longest history of earlier times. Being interested in it, and desiring to compare the Roman prowess carefully with that of every other nation, my history has often led me from Carthage to Spain, from Spain to Sicily or to Macedonia, or to join some embassy to foreign countries, or some alliance formed with them; thence back to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer, and again elsewhere, while the work was still unfinished. At last I have brought the parts together, showing how often the Romans sent armies or embassies into Sicily and what they did there until they brought it into its present condition; also how often they made war and peace with the Carthaginians, or sent embassies to them or received the same from them, and what damage they inflicted upon or suffered from them until they demolished Carthage and made Africa a Roman province, and how they rebuilt Carthage and brought Africa into its present condition. I have made this research also in respect to each of the other provinces, desiring to learn the Romans' relations to each, in order to understand the weakness of these nations or their power of

ἐθνῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ φερεπονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑλόντων ἀρετὴν ἢ εὐτυχίαν, ἢ εἴ τι αὖ ἄλλο συγκύρημα συνηνέχθη, καταμάθοιμι.

13. Νομίσας δ' ἄν τινα καὶ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐθελῆσαι μαθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, συγγράφω κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον· ὅσα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐξαίρω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐκείνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πᾶσι περισσὸν ἡγούμην καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσω. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἕν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ἑκάστῳ, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δύο· καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ καὶ τρίτον ἤρξατό τισιν ἐς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐκ πάθους ἢ ἀρετῆς προστίθεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἦσαν ἐπικλήσεις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅπου καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γνώρισμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἃ κυριώτατα ἡγοῦνται, προσαγορεύσω.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βίβλων οὐσῶν αἳ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέον εἶναι Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικάς, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργον διῄρηνται. καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἡ μὲν πρώτη τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἑπτὰ γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφω Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλικήν. ἡ δ' ἑξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, χωρίς γε τῆς παρὰ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον· ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἥδε λέγεται ἡ ἑξῆς

endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance contributing to the result.

13. Thinking that the public would like to learn the history of the Romans in this way, I am going to write the part relating to each nation separately, omitting what happened to the others in the meantime, and taking it up in its proper place. It seems superfluous to put down the dates of everything, but I shall mention those of the most important events now and then. As to names, Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery, just as certain of the Greeks had surnames in addition to their ordinary names. For purposes of distinction I shall sometimes mention all the names, especially of illustrious men, but for the most part I shall call these and others by the names that are deemed most characteristic.

14. As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three together must be considered the Italian-Roman history; but the division into books has been made on account of the great number of events which they contain. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the

Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλική. τελευταιῳ δὲ ἔθνει, Σαυνίταις, οἳ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ᾤκηνται, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ χαλεπῷ ὀγδοηκοντα ἔτεσι συνεπλάκησαν, μέχρι καὶ τούσδε, καὶ ὅσα σφίσιν ἐγγὺς ἔθνη συνεμάχει, καὶ Ἕλληνας ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσίν, ὑπηγάγοντο· καὶ ἔστιν ἥδε, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύγκρισιν, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Σαυνιτική. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, τούτων ἑκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιγράφονται, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Κελτική τε καὶ Σικελικὴ καὶ Ἰβηρικὴ καὶ Ἀννιβαϊκὴ καὶ Καρχηδονιακὴ καὶ Μακεδονικὴ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. τέτακται δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄλλη μετ᾽ ἄλλην ὡς ἑκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἑτέρου λαβεῖν συνέπεσεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἔθνει μετὰ πολλὰ ἕτερα γεγένηται. ὅσα δ᾽ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασάν τε καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἐμφύλια, φοβερώτερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενόμενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν στάσεων διῄρηται, τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς Πομπήιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐπίκλην, πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς ἀλλήλους, αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος στασιασάντων. ᾧ τινὶ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων ὄντι καὶ Αἴγυπτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς μοναρχίαν περιῆλθεν.

15. Ὧδε μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἕκαστα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἢ ἐς στρατηγοὺς τὰ ἐμφύλια, διῄρηται· ἡ δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὅσην ἔχουσιν, ἢ πρόσοδον ἣν καρποῦνται καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ἢ εἴ τι προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπινείους φρουράς, ὅσα τε τοιουτότροπα ἄλλα, ἐπιδείξει. ἁρμόζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἄρξασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς

former, will be called the second Italian book of Roman history. With the last nation, the Samnites, who dwelt along the Adriatic, the Romans struggled eighty years under the greatest difficulties, but finally they subjugated them and the neighbours who were allied with them, and also the Greeks of southern Italy. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the Samnite Roman history. The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on. The order of these histories with respect to each other is according to the time when the Romans began to be embroiled in war with each nation, even though many other things intervened before that nation came to its end. The internal seditions and civil wars of the Romans—to them the most calamitous of all—will be designated under the names of their chief actors, as the wars of Marius and Sulla, those of Pompey and Caesar, those of Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, against the murderers of the first Caesar, and those of Antony and Augustus against each other. At the end of this last of the civil wars Egypt passed under the Roman sway, and the Roman government itself became a monarchy.

15. Thus, the foreign wars have been divided into books according to the nations, and the civil wars according to the chief commanders. The last book will show the present military force of the Romans, the revenues they collect from each province, what they spend for the naval service, and other things of that kind. It is proper to begin with the origin of the people of whose prowess I am about to write.

αὐτῶν συγγράφοντα. τίς δὲ ὢν ταῦτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσασι καὶ αὐτὸς προέφηνα, σαφέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἥκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἠξίωσαν. καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφή.

PREFACE

Who I am, who have written these things, many indeed know, and I have already indicated. To speak more plainly I am Appian of Alexandria, a man who have reached the highest place in my native country, and have been, in Rome, a pleader of causes before the emperors, until they deemed me worthy of being made their procurator. And if any one has a great desire to learn more about my affairs there is a special treatise of mine on that subject.[1]

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[1] See Introduction.

BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

FRAGMENTS

A

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ.

1

1. Ἄρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπυος, ὃς ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ ἤκμαζε πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἔς τινα τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλόν, Λώρεντον ἐπικαλούμενον, ἔνθα καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίνων τῶν τῆδε Ἰταλῶν Φαῦνος ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ὃς καὶ ζεύγνυσιν Αἰνείᾳ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Λαουινίαν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Λαουίνιον ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Αἰνείας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Λατίνου Φαύνου Λατίνους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Λαουινίαν τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Ῥουτούλων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναιρεῖται πολέμου νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνείας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθείς, ὃς ἐγεννήθη

BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

I. From Photius

1. Appian begins his history with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, who flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at a part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping-place is shown to this day, and the shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four hundred stades in circuit. Here Aeneas built a town, which he named after his wife Lavinium. Three years later, at the death of Faunus, Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom by virtue of his marriage relationship, and he called the aborigines Latins, from his father-in-law, Latinus Faunus. Three years later still, Aeneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king. He was succeeded in the government by Euryleon, surnamed Ascanius,

τῷ Αἰνείᾳ ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικός. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθῆναί φασι, τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2. Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἄλβης οἴκισιν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἔκτισε πόλιν, Ἄλβην καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Λαουινίου τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν) ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σίλουιος. καὶ Σιλουίου παῖδα Αἰνείαν Σίλουιόν φασιν, Αἰνείου δὲ Λατῖνον Σίλουιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιβερῖνον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλον. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ· οὗ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀουεντῖνον, Ἀουεντίνου δὲ Πρόκαν γενέσθαι. καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Σίλουιον ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. τῷ δὲ Πρόκᾳ δύο ἐγενέσθην υἱοί, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἔγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουίαν ἱέρειαν, ἵνα ἄπαις διαμείνῃ, καθίστησι· τὸν μέντοι Νεμέτορα τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλῆς ἡ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐξεῖλε πραότης καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια. ἀλλ' ἡ Σιλουία ἔκυε παρὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμούλιος ἐπὶ κολάσει συνελάμβανε, δύο δὲ παῖδας ἐκ τῆσδε γενομένους ποιμέσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰς τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ βρέφη· Θύβρις ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ, Ῥῶμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμύλος οἱ παῖδες, ἐξ Αἰνείου ἕλκοντες μητρόθεν τὸ γένος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φύντος ἄδηλον. Phot. Biblioth. p. 16 b 4 Bekk.

the son of Aeneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

2. Ascanius died four years after the founding of Alba (for he also built a city and gave it the name of Alba, and settled it with a colony from Lavinium), and Silvius succeeded to the throne. They say that this Silvius had a son named Aeneas Silvius, and he a son named Latinus Silvius, and he a son named Capys, and he a son named Capetus, and he a son named Tiberinus, and he a son named Agrippa, who was the father of the Romulus who was struck by lightning, and who left a son Aventinus, who was the father of Procas. All of these bore the surname of Silvius. Procas had two sons, the elder named Numitor, and the younger Amulius. When the elder succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, the younger took it away from him by force and violence. He also killed Egestus, his brother's son, and he made Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, a vestal, so that she might remain childless. Notwithstanding a conspiracy against his life, Numitor himself was saved because of the gentleness and clemency of his character. Silvia having become pregnant contrary to law, Amulius cast her into prison by way of punishment, and when she had given birth to two sons he gave them to some shepherds with orders to throw the babes into the neighbouring stream called the river Tiber. These boys were Romulus and Remus. On their mother's side they were descended from Aeneas, while their paternal lineage was unknown.

II

Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἑπτὰ βασιλέων, Ῥωμύλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἄγκου Ὁστιλίου καὶ Ἄγκου ἑτέρου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερουίου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεις περιέχει. ὧν ὁ πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστὴς γεγονώς, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς, ὅμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἠφανίσθη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἧττον βεβασιλευκώς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε ζήσας . . . ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ὁμοίως σφαγῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη· ἐξ οὗ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθείσης εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη. id. p. 15 b 22.

III

Ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπισχνεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον. Suid. vv. Τάτιος et φυλάξασα.

IV

Κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχώσθη. Suid. v. λιθάζω.

II. From the Same

My first book contains the deeds of Rome's seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Ancus[1] Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (a descendant of Numa), Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius, a son of the other Tarquinius. The first of these was the founder and builder of Rome, and although he governed it rather as a father than as an absolute monarch, he was nevertheless slain, or, as some think, translated. The second, not less kingly, but even more so than the first, died at the age of . . . The third was struck by lightning. The fourth died of a disease. The fifth was murdered by some shepherds. The sixth too was murdered. The seventh was expelled from the city and kingdom for violating the laws. From that time kingly rule came to an end, and the administration of government was transferred to consuls.

III From Suidas

Having kept careful watch against her father's return, she (Tarpeia) promises Tatius to betray the garrison.

IV. From the Same

At the command of Tatius they threw the gold at the girl until she succumbed to her wounds and was buried under the heap.

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[1] An obvious error for 'Tullus.'

V

Ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμύλον Τατίου αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διῄτησαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χεῖράς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἤδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἁμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἶκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μιαροῦ πολέμου, ἢ πρώτας ἀνελεῖν αἳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορίᾳ καὶ οἴκτῳ τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνώσκοντες ἤδη μὴ καθ' ὕβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν γενομένην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τάτιόν τε καὶ Ῥωμύλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων μετοικίζεσθαι ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) p. 334.

V. From "The Embassies"

When Tatius waged war against Romulus, the wives of the Romans, who were daughters of the Sabines, made peace between them. Advancing to the camp of the parents they held out their hands to them and showed the infant children already born to them and their husbands, and testified that their husbands had done them no wrong. They prayed that the Sabines would take pity on themselves, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their daughters, and either put an end to this unholy war between relatives, or first kill them in whose behalf it was begun. The parents, moved partly by their own difficulties and partly by pity for the women, and perceiving that what the Romans had done was not from lust but necessity, entered into negotiations with them. For this purpose Romulus and Tatius met in the street which was named from this event *Via Sacra* and agreed upon these conditions: that both Romulus and Tatius should be kings, and that the Sabines who were then serving in the army under Tatius, and any others who might choose to come, should be allowed to settle in Rome on the same terms and under the same laws as the Romans themselves.

VI

Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ' ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγγειλεν Ὁστιλίῳ. Suid. v. *ἰδιόξενος.*

VII

Οἱ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι τὰ πάντα θέμενον. id. v. *βλάσφημος.*

VIII

Συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν Γάβιοι δικαιῶσιν. id. v. *δικαιοῦν.*

IX

Ὠνεῖται τὰ τρία βιβλία τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐννέα. Bekk. Anecd. p. 180, 15.

X

Ὁ δὲ Ὁράτιος λελωβημένος ἦν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἔτυχεν οὔτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν. Suid. vv. *ἀχρηστία* et *Ὁράτιος.*

XI

Οἱ ὕπατοι τὰ ὅρκια προύτεινον, καὶ ἐς πάντα ἔφασαν ἐνδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι. id. v. *προσήσεσθαι.*

VI. From Suidas

The general, learning this fact from one of his personal friends, communicated it to Hostilius.

VII. From the Same

Some blamed him [Tullus Hostilius] because he wrongly staked everything on the prowess of three men (the Horatii).

VIII. From the Same

[The Romans thought] that peace might be made [by Tarquinius] on such terms as the Gabini considered just.

IX. From the Anonymous Grammarian

[Tarquinius] bought the three books [from the Sibyl] at the price previously asked for the nine.

X. From Suidas

Horatius [Cocles] was a cripple. He failed of reaching the consulship, either in war or in peace, on account of his lameness.

XI. From the Same

The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquinius.

XII

Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθιζε. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἀνὴρ Σαβῖνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός, οὐκ εἴα τοὺς Σαβίνους παρασπονδεῖν, ἕως κρινόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔφυγεν ἐς Ῥώμην μετὰ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ δούλων πεντακισχιλίων. οἷς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν ἐς οἰκίας ἔδοσαν καὶ γῆν ἐς γεωργίαν, καὶ πολίτας ἔθεντο. τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἔργα λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν Σαβίνων· καὶ φυλὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν. Vales. Excerpt. ex collectan. Const. Porph. p. 546.

XIII

Λατῖνοι ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτούς . . . οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἐγκλήματα εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τήν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἐνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς. Suid. vv. ἔνσπονδος et πάρεσις.

XII. From "Virtues and Vices"

Tarquinius incited the Sabines against the Roman B.C. 504 people. Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus, opposed any violation of the treaty, and being condemned for this action, he took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and a new tribe, the Claudian, was named after him.

XIII. From Suidas

The Latins, although allied to the Romans by 498 treaty, nevertheless made war against them. They accused the Romans of despising them, although they were allied to them, and of the same blood.

BOOK II

CONCERNING ITALY

FRAGMENTS

B

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ

I

Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους. Suid. v. κληροῦχον.

II

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸν Μάρκιον μετιόντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειροτόνησεν, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιὼς αὐτοὺ. id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

III

Ο Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, φυγὴν καταδικασθείς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο. id. v. πίμπραται.

IV

Ὅτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἥκοι,[1] τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρήσεσθαι βουληθείς. id. v. ἀλλαξάμενος.

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[1] So Küsker and Schw. for MSS. ἥ.

BOOK II

CONCERNING ITALY

I. From Suidas

The Volsci, in nowise terrified by the misfortunes of their neighbours, made war against the Romans and laid siege to their colonies. B.C. 498

II. From the Same

The people refused to elect Marcius (Coriolanus) when he sought the consulship, not because they considered him unfit, but because they feared his domineering spirit. 491

III. From the Same

Marcius, being inflamed against the Romans when they banished him, went over to the Volsci, meditating no small revenge. 489

IV. From the Same

He said that he came having renounced country and kin, holding them of no account, and intending to side with the Volsci against his country. 488

V

1. Ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Οὐολούσκους καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἠπείλει τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσοιντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ῥωμαίοις πρεπούσης, οἳ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολούσκων ἀκροωμένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμνησκον ὡς οὐχ ἁμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὅμως Οὐολούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἂν ἥν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδῶσι, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὥσπερ Λατίνους. ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατούντων οἱ κρατούμενοι, οὐχ ὁρᾶν τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσοντας ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἑπτὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἷλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δ' ἀντειπόντος ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνά-

V. From "The Embassies"

1. When Marcius had been banished, and had taken refuge with the Volsci, and made war against the Romans, and was encamped at a distance of only forty stades from the city, the people threatened to betray the walls to the enemy unless the Senate would send an embassy to him to treat for peace. The Senate reluctantly sent plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace befitting the Roman nation. When they arrived at the camp of the Volsci and were brought into his presence and that of the Volscians, they offered him an amnesty and permission to return to the city if he would discontinue the war, and they reminded him that the Senate had never done him any wrong. He, while accusing the people of the many wrongs they had done to him and to the Volsci, promised nevertheless that he would bring the latter to terms with them if they would surrender the land and towns they had taken from the Volsci and admit them to citizenship on the same terms as the Latins. But if the vanquished were to keep what belonged to the victors, he did not see how peace could be made. Having named these conditions, he dismissed the ambassadors and gave them thirty days to consider. Then he turned against the remaining Latin towns, and having captured seven of them in the thirty days, he came back to receive the answer of the Romans. B.C. 488

2. They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms. When he refused again, they sent ten others to beg

ξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἑκουσίους ἐᾶν γίγνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδούμενόν τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτόντων. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἔπεμπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐσταλμένους, ταὐτὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου δεησομένους· ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔφη δεῖν ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, ἢ μηδ' αὖ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἀμυνούμενοι Μάρκιον.

3. Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπί τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Οὐολουμνίαν, πένθιμα ἠμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσαι, συνεξελθεῖν αὐταῖς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἠξίουν αὐτάς, καὶ δεηθῆναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης ἐξῄεσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιούσαις ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθήρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τὴν μητέρα, προσδραμών τε ἠσπάζετο, καὶ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Οὐολούσκων, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι χρῄζοι.

4. Ἡ δὲ συνηδικῆσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένῳ τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἔφη, ὁρᾶν δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν ἤδη καὶ τίσιν

him not to do anything unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honour of his country and the reputation of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and piled up stones and missiles on the walls to drive off Marcius from above. B.C. 488

3. But Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, brought a company of women to Veturia, the mother of Marcius, and to Volumnia his wife. All these, clad in mourning garments and bringing their children to join in the supplication, implored that they would go out with them to meet Marcius, and beseech him to spare them and their country. Accordingly, by permission of the Senate, they went forth, women and alone, to the camp of the enemy. Marcius admiring the high courage of the city, where even the women-folk were inspired by it, advanced to meet them, sending away the rods and axes of the lictors, out of respect for his mother. He ran forward and embraced her, brought her into the council of the Volsci, and bade her say what she desired.

4. She said that, being his mother, she, as well as he, was wronged in his banishment from the city; but that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a

ἔτισαν ἱκανήν, ὧν χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέφθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολώλασι πολλαί, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἔσχατον, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερέας καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα, τό τε ἀδίκημα ἰῶνται ἀμνηστίᾳ καὶ καθόδῳ. "σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ, μηδὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπιχείρει κοιναῖς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων.[1] ποῖ φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ; μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τὴν σήν; μετὰ τὴν ἑστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά; δὸς χάριν, ὦ παῖ, κἀμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρακαλούσαις." ἡ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἴα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἂν ἀδικῇ, οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν εὖ ποιοῦν· καὶ τὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκέλευεν ὁρᾶν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεψάντων. τιμάς τε ὅσων ἠξίωτο, καὶ ὅρκους οὓς ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεξῄει, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

5. Ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἤδη πρεσβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίου

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[1] Suggested by Schw. in his app. crit. instead of the MSS. **ἀδικουμένων.**

sufficient penalty, so much of their territory had been laid waste and so many of their towns demolished; and that now they were reduced to the Roman's last resource, supplication, and were sending as ambassadors to him consuls and priests, and his own mother and wife, and seeking to remedy the wrong by amnesty and recall. "Do not," she said, "cure an evil by an incurable evil. Do not be the cause of calamities that will smite yourself as well as those who have wronged you. Whither do you carry the torch? From the fields to the city? From the city to your own hearthstone? From your own hearthstone to the temples of the gods? Have mercy, my son, on me and on your country as we plead." After she had thus spoken Marcius replied that the country which had cast him out was not his, but rather the land which had given him shelter. No man, he said, loved one that wronged him, or hated one that did him good. He told her to cast her eyes upon the men there present with whom he had exchanged the pledge of mutual fidelity, who had granted him citizenship, and chosen him their general, and had intrusted to him their private interests. He recounted the honours bestowed upon him and the oath he had sworn, and he urged his mother to consider their friends and enemies hers also. B.C. 488

5. While he was still speaking, she, in a burst of anger, and holding her hands up to heaven, invoked their family gods. "Two processions of women," said she, "have set forth from Rome in times of great distress, one in the time of King Tatius, the

βασιλέως καὶ Γαΐου Μαρκίου, τούτοιν δὲ Τάτιον μέν, ὄντα ξένον καὶ ἀληθῆ πολέμιον, ἐνδοῦναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἰδούμενον, Μάρκιον δ' ὑπερορᾶν πρεσβείας γυναικῶν τοσῶνδε, καὶ τῆς γεγαμημένης καὶ μητρὸς ἐπὶ ταύταις. "ἄλλη μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "μηδεμία μήτηρ, ἀτυχοῦσα παιδός, ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίκοιτο προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑφίσταμαι· προκυλίσομαί σου." καὶ λέγουσα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν ἐρρίπτει. ὁ δὲ ἐδάκρυσέ τε καὶ ἀνεπήδα καὶ ἀντείχετο αὐτῆς, ὑπό τε τοῦ πάθους ἐξεφώνησε, "νικᾷς, ὦ μῆτερ, ἀλλὰ νίκην ἐξ ἧς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολεῖς." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσων Οὐολούσκοις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη συναλλάξων· ἐλπίς τε ἦν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα πείσει Οὐολούσκους. κατελεύσθη δὲ φθονούμενος παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀττίου. U. p. 335.

V^b

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ ἓν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίου. Suid. v. ἐδικαίου.

VI

Ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιέπαινοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλεθρίας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται. Suid. vv. ἐλεεινός et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.

other in that of Gaius Marcius. Of these two B.C. 488 Tatius, a stranger and downright enemy, had respect for the women and yielded to them. Marcius scorns so great a delegation of women, including his wife, and his mother besides. May no other mother, unblessed in her son, ever be reduced to the necessity of throwing herself at his feet. But I submit even to this: I will prostrate myself before you." So speaking she flung herself on the ground. He burst into tears, sprang up and caught hold of her, exclaiming with the deepest emotion: "Mother, you have gained the victory, but it is a victory by which you will undo your son." So saying he led back the army, in order to give his reasons to the Volsci and to make peace between the two nations. There was some hope that he might be able to persuade the Volsci even to do this, but on account of the jealousy of their leader Attius he was put to death.

V^b. FROM SUIDAS

MARCIUS did not think proper to gainsay any of these [demands].

VI. FROM THE SAME

(THE Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their 479 misfortunes as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For what befel them was a great misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky.

VII

Τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθὴς ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπιδησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ. id. v. ἐθελοκάκως.

VIII

1. Ὅτι σημειων γενομενων ἐκ Διὸς ἀηδῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἅλωσιν, οἱ μάντεις ἔλεγον ἐκλειφθῆναί τινα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀνήνεγκεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοιτο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρήσαντι περὶ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τοὺς λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν ἐκ τῆς Οὐηιέντης ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ’ αὑτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὅρκῳ τὸ δέκατον εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὤκνησε καὶ τῆς γῆς ἤδη πεπραμένης, ὡς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθεῖναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔκειτο χρύσεος ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιητῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκικῷ πολέμῳ κατεχώνευσε, κεῖται δ’ ἡ βάσις.

2. Αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἐδιωκεν ὡς αἴτιον γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλεπῶν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν

VII. From the Same

The army showed a mutinous spirit towards the general (Appius Claudius), against whom they bore a grudge. They fought badly on purpose, and took to flight, putting bandages on their bodies as though they were wounded. They broke camp and tried to retreat, putting the blame on the unskilfulness of their commander. B.C. 471

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. Bad omens from Jupiter were observed after the capture of Veii. The soothsayers said that some religious duty had been neglected, and Camillus remembered that he had forgotten to appropriate a tenth of the spoils to the god who had given the oracle concerning the lake. Accordingly the Senate decreed that those who had taken anything from Veii should make an estimate, each one for himself, and bring in a tenth of it under oath. Their religious feeling was such that they did not hesitate to add to the votive offering a tenth of the produce of the land that had already been sold, as well as of the spoils. With the money thus obtained they sent to the temple of Delphi a golden bowl which stood on a pedestal of brass in the treasury of Rome and Massilia until Onomarchus melted down the gold during the Phocaean war. The pedestal is still standing. 395

2. Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some 391

ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐζημίωσε πεντήκοντα μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὐδ' ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἐτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρισθείη τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετῴκησεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχήν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον· Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέφυγε καὶ δικτάτορα αὖθις εἵλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς πράξεσι συγγέγραπται. Val. p. 546.

IX

Ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων ἠξιώθη. ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐφημούμενος πᾶσιν ἠφίει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προϊὼν δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκοπίαις ἐπαιρόμενος ἐβούλευσεν ἤδη χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς κοινάς, ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἠξίου τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον. Val. p. 549.

time set against him, fined him 500,000 sesterces,[1] B.C. having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep indignation he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles, that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came to pass very soon, 389 for when the Gauls captured the city, the people fled for succour to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.

IX. From the Same

Marcus Manlius, the patrician, saved the city of Rome from a Gallic invasion, and received the highest honours. At a later period, when he saw an 384 old man, who had often fought for his country, reduced to servitude by a money-lender, he paid the debt for him. Being highly commended for this act, he released all his own debtors from their obligations. His glory being much increased thereby, he paid the debts of many others. Being much elated by the success of his demagogue tricks, he even proposed that all debts should be cancelled, or that the people should sell the lands that had not yet been distributed and apply the proceeds for the relief of debtors.

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[1] Schw. observes that the number is exaggeratedly large, and the text undoubtedly corrupt.

BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

FRAGMENTS

Γ

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΥΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορουῖνος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομάς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἵδε Καμπανοῖς ἁβροδιαίτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὖσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους ἑαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἕκαστοι τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμον προσαγαγέσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος,[1] ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὁδεύων ἔμαθε τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἀφῆκεν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπί τινα χρείαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χιλίαρχόν τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ᾧ εἴρητο ἀφανῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἑκάτεροι δ᾽ ὑπώπτευον με-

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[1] An error for Μάρκιος = C. Marcius Rutilus, cons. 342 B.C.

BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

I. From "Virtues and Vices"

B.C. 343

1. When the Roman generals Cornelius and Corvinus, and the plebeian Decius, had overcome the Samnites they left a military guard in Campania to ward off the Samnite incursions. These guards, partaking of the luxury and extravagance of the Campanians, were corrupted in their habits and began to envy the riches of these people, being themselves very poor and owing alarming debts in Rome. Finally they took counsel among themselves to kill their entertainers, seize their property, and marry their wives. This infamy would perhaps have been carried out had not another Roman general, Mamercus, who was marching against the Samnites, learned the design of the Roman guards. Concealing his intentions, he disarmed some of them and dismissed them, as soldiers entitled to discharge for long service. The more villainous of them he ordered to Rome on the pretence of important business, and he sent with them a military tribune with orders to keep a secret watch over them. Both parties of soldiers suspected that their design had been

μηνῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ Ταρρακίνην ἀφίστανταί τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δεδεμένους ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ ὁπλίσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἤλαυνον ἐς Ῥώμην ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι γεγονότες.

2. Ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπήντα Κορουῖνος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἡρεμεί, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἔτι, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμίγνυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις ἁμαρτεῖν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ὧν ὁ Κορουῖνος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὀκνῶν ἅψασθαι πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοσούτου φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τόν τε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν δύναιτο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμιξίας ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ οὐδ' ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ᾖ πιστός, ἅτε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτῶν αἰτιώμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἔφη περὶ μειζόνων· καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσειεν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ' οἰκείων τοσῶνδε. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατῄεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Val. p. 549.

disclosed and they broke away from the tribune B.C. 343
near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working in the fields, in the slave-prisons, armed them as well as they could, and marched on Rome to the number of 20,000 in all.

2. About one day's march from the city they 342
were met by Corvinus, who went into camp near them on the Alban mount. He remained quietly in his camp, watching the course of events and did not consider it wise to attack. However, the two bodies of men mingled with each other privately, and the guards acknowledged with groans and tears, as among relatives and friends, that they were to blame, but declared that the cause of it all was the debts they owed at Rome. When Corvinus understood this he shrank from the responsibility of so much civil bloodshed and advised the Senate to release these men from debt. He exaggerated the difficulty of the war, questioning whether he had the power to overcome such a large body of men, who would fight with the energy of despair. He had strong suspicions also of the result of the meetings and conferences, fearing lest his own army, who were relatives of these men and not less oppressed with debt, should be to some extent lacking in fidelity. If he should be defeated he said that the dangers would be greatly increased; if victorious, the victory itself would be most lamentable to the commonwealth, being gained over so many of their own people. The Senate was moved by his arguments and decreed a cancellation of debts to all Romans, and immunity also to these revolters, who then laid down their arms and returned to the city.

II

Ὅτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ὁ ὕπατος τοιοῦτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετήν. τούτῳ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἀμελὴς ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸν εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενόν τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ παῖς ὅδε Μάλλιος ἧκεν, ἐπικρύπτων ξιφίδιον, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἠξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς δή τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπέκλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἠπείλει τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὀμόσειεν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤμοσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν· ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμπρὸς ἦν, ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιόσδε ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο. id. p. 550.

III

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεῖχε, μετὰ δέ, οὐ φέρων ἔτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντήλασε τὸν ἵππον. Suid. v. ἐρέθισμα.

IV

1. Ὅτι Σαυνῖται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Δαυνίων ὀγδοήκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἷλον, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐξ

II. From the Same

Hear now the bravery of the consul Manlius B.C. 340 Torquatus. His father was a miser, and did not care for him, but kept him at work with slaves in the fields and left him to partake of their fare. When the tribune Pomponius prosecuted him for numerous misdeeds and intended to mention among others his bad treatment of his son, young Manlius, concealing a dagger under his clothes, went to the house of the tribune and asked to see him privately, as he had something of importance to say about the trial. Being admitted, and just as he was beginning to speak, he fastened the door and threatened the tribune with death if he did not take an oath that he would withdraw the accusation against his father. The latter took the oath, dismissed the accusation, and explained to the people what had happened. Manlius acquired great distinction from this affair, and was praised for being such a son to such a father.

III. From Suidas

With jeers he challenged him to single combat. The other [Manlius, the consul's son] restrained himself for a while; but when he could no longer endure the provocation, he charged at him.

IV. From "The Embassies"

1. While the Samnites were raiding and plundering 322 the territory of Fregellae, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and

αὐτῶν χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀνελόντες ἀπανέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπρέσβευον οἱ Σαυνῖται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αἰτίους τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότας ἀνῃρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιουσίας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ πάνυ νομίζουσα τετρῦσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἢ παρῃτοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἔφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες. λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῄεσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἔτι παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἕως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ᾽ ἐνεμέσησε τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὕστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤχθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐς γὰρ στενώτατον χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Πόντιον καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ἣν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχουσι καιροί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ

the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them B.C. 322 out of the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of some men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold said to be taken from their store. Wherefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, and, in so far as they had any objections to make, they made them in a tone of remonstrance and appeal, or proposed to refer the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they would not endure even to hear anything more on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter.

2. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no 321 more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable and implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. Heaven, however, resented this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win such gratitude of the Romans as opportunity rarely offered. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him at all unless they were prepared to surrender their arms

ὅπλα καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοῖεν. θρῆνος οὖν ἦν οἷα πόλεως ἁλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἔτι ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὀκνοῦντες ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι· ὡς δ' οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὅ τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτούς, καὶ νεότης ἦν πέντε μυριάδων, ἣν ὤκνουν φθειρομένην ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκάλουν, εἴτε κτείνειν εἴτε πωλεῖν εἴτε φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἕλοιτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀτυχούντων ὑβρίσαι.

3. Ὁ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καυδίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γήρως ἁμάξῃ. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, "ἓν ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἢ κολάσεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσσουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἴσθι νίκην τήνδε πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν· καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μήτ' ἐνυβρίσας μήτ' ἀφελόμενος μηδέν, ἵνα σῶον ᾖ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δ', ὡς ἀκούω, φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόναις εὐεργεσίαις ἡττώμενοι διαγωνιοῦνταί σοι περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος. ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τήνδε τὴν εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἢν δέ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθῃ, κτεῖνον ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς, μηδ' ἄγγελον ὑπολιπών. λέγω δ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἱρούμενος, ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑβρισθέντες ἀμυνοῦνταί σε πάντως· ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μεῖζον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὕροις βλάβος νέων ὁμοῦ πέντε μυριάδων."

and their persons. Thereupon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him, whether he elected to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep them for ransom, not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate. B.C. 321

3. Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: "My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure,—either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Know that the first and greatest of all victories is to treasure up success. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so as to secure for yourself the debt of a great benefit conferred. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honour. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in respect of this deed of kindness. It is in your power to make this benefit a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow, and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time."

4. Ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν· "ὅτι μέν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ θαυμάζω· προεῖπας γὰρ ἐρεῖν ὑπερβολὰς ἑκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσούτους, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀφαιρήσομαι δι' ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὐδ' αὐτῷ μέν μοι δοκεῖ, Ῥωμαίων πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἔτι νῦν ἐχόντων, τούσδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω· ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δέ, παρεὶς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν· ὧν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνᾶσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφῃρημένοι χρῄζουσι παραμυθίας· φύσει δὲ γαῦρον ὁ νενικηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπονται. τίς οὖν ἀνέξεταί μου τούσδε μὴ κτείνειν μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀπαθεῖς προπέμπειν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρῶμεν τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἐγώ, τῆς δ' ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλοιμι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἴην, ὅπλα μὲν αὐτούς, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι καὶ χρήματα (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν), ἐκπέμψω δ' ὑπὸ ζυγὸν σώους, ᾗ τινὶ αἰσχύνῃ

4. When he had thus spoken his son answered: B.C. 321 "I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of heaven and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I will not do it. Thoughtless leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter from the Samnites' point of view, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed as though they were benefactors? Therefore let us discard the two extremes—the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of the world, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed

καὶ αὐτοὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὅμηρα τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἕως ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἡγοῦμαι νενικηκότος τε ἔργα ποιήσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ῥωμαίους τε ἀγαπήσειν ὅσα καὶ αὐτοί, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἐς ἄλλους ἔδρασαν.”

5. Ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσέ τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπήνης ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπήλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἴ τις εἰρηνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρείη. τοῖς δὲ παρῆν οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοῖς οὖν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, “ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσπενδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἶτ᾽ αὖθις αὖ φιλίας ἡμῖν γενομένης, Νεαπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσιν. καὶ οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ ἦν ὑμῖν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔν τε ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐδ᾽ ἠρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλοτρίας, καὶ κληρούχους ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ

to put upon others. Then I will establish peace between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance, until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have acted in a way worthy of a victor and a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others." B.C. 321

5. While Pontius was speaking the old man burst into tears, then seated himself in his carriage and went back to Caudium. Pontius then summoned the Roman envoys and asked them if they had any fetial priest[1] with them. None, however, was present, because the army had marched to undertake an irreconcilable, implacable war. Accordingly he commanded the envoys to make this announcement to the consuls and other officers of the army and to the whole multitude: "We lived in perpetual friendship with the Romans, a friendship which you yourselves violated by giving aid to the Sidicini, our enemies. When peace was concluded again, you made war upon the Neapolitans, our neighbours. Nor did it escape us that these things were part of a plan of yours to seize the dominion of all Italy. In the first battles, where you gained the advantage on account of the unskilfulness of our generals, you showed us no moderation. Not content with devastating our country and occupying positions and towns not your own, and planting colonies in them, you, further, on two occasions, when we sent

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[1] The *fetiales* were a Roman college of priests, who sanctioned treaties when concluded, and who demanded satisfaction of an enemy before a declaration of war.

καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἡμῶν δὶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωρούντων, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπενδομένους ἀλλ᾽ ἑαλωκότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῖν συνοικούντων. ἕνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἄσπονδα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσίν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας τῆς ποτὲ μνημονεύων, δίδωμι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν σὺν ἱματίῳ σῶον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἢν ὀμόσητε τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδέ ποτ᾽ ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύσειν."

6. Ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρῆνος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· θανάτου γὰρ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι χείρονα τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπύθοντο, αὖθις ἐθρήνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας αὐτὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὤμνυον ὅ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι, δύο ὄντες Ποστούμιός τε καὶ Οὐετούριος, καὶ ταμίαι δύο καὶ ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλίαρχοι δώδεκα, σύμπαντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἦρχον. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας τι τοῦ διατειχίσματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἄλλο ἐπιθείς, ἐξέπεμπε Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τούτῳ. καί τινα ὑποζύγια ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας,

embassies to you and made concessions, arrogantly B.C. 321 increased your claims, demanding that we should surrender our entire empire, and acknowledge your allegiance. You treated us as a conquered race, not as a nation with whom you were negotiating. Thereupon you decreed this irreconcilable, implacable war against your former friends, descendants of the Sabines whom you made your fellow-citizens. On account of your insatiable cupidity we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you depised), and mindful of our former relationship and friendship, will permit each one of you to pass under the yoke safe and sound with one garment, if you swear to give up all of our lands and strongholds and withdraw your colonies from the same, and never wage war against the Samnites again."

6. When these terms were communicated to the camp there was wailing and lamentation, long and loud, for they considered the disgrace of passing under the yoke worse than death. Afterwards, when they heard about the knights who were to be held as hostages, there was another long lament. Yet they were compelled by want to accept the conditions. Accordingly they took the oaths, Pontius on the one side, and the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, on the other, together with two quaestors, four division commanders, and twelve tribunes,—all the surviving officers. When the oaths had been taken, Pontius opened part of the barricade, and having fixed two spears in the ground and laid another across the top, caused the Romans to go under it as they passed out, one by one. He also gave them some animals to carry their sick, and

καὶ τροφήν, ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇδε ζυγόν, ὀνειδίζειν ὡς δοριαλώτοις.

7. Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρῆνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχρῶς περισεσωσμένους ὡς ἀποθανόντας, ἥ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἕως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῄεσαν· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσῆλθον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἔπρασσον δὲ οὐδέν. U. p. 338.

V

Δεντάτῳ κατὰ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς εἵπετο νεων λογάδων πλῆθος ὀκτακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἕτοιμοι. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Suid. v. ζῆλος.

VI

1. Ὅτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ

provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This B.C. 321
method of dismissing prisoners, which the Romans call sending under the yoke, seems to me to convey the reproach of having been captured in battle.

7. When the news of this calamity reached the city there was wailing and lamentation like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. The senators discarded their purple-striped tunics. Feasts, marriages, and everything of that kind were prohibited for a whole year, until the calamity was retrieved. Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city by night. The consuls entered by day, as the law compelled them, and wore their usual insignia, but they exercised no further authority

V. From Suidas

On account of admiration for his bravery a 290
multitude of chosen youths numbering eight hundred were in the habit of following Dentatus, ready for anything. This was an embarrassment to the Senate at their meetings.

VI. From "The Embassies"

1. Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic 283
tribe, aided the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were serving as mercenaries against the Romans. Although they bore the herald's staff, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and

καὶ διέρριψεν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνῄρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν εἴασεν, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθῄρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε, πλὴν Βριτομάριος, ὃν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἦγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

2. Οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι[1] ἀνῃρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργιζόμενοί τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἥδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 343.

VII

1. Ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα, καί τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαΐς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας, παροξύνας τε ἔπεισεν ἐπαναχθῆναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναῦς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι,

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[1] Something has probably fallen out after πυθόμενοι.

flung the parts away, alleging that his own father B.C. 283 had been slain by the Romans while he was waging war in Etruria. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, abandoned his campaign against the Etruscans, dashed with great rapidity by way of the Sabine country and Picenum against the towns of the Senones, and devastated them with fire and sword. He carried their women and children into slavery, and killed all the adult youths except a son of Britomaris, whom he tortured terribly and led in his triumph.

2. When the Senones who were in Etruria heard of this calamity, they joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome. After various mishaps these Senones, having no homes to return to, and being in a state of frenzy over their misfortunes, fell upon Domitius [the other consul], by whom most of them were destroyed. The rest slew themselves in despair. Such was the punishment meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

VII. From the Same.

1. Cornelius went on a voyage of inspection along 282 the coast of Magna Graecia with ten decked ships. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nicknamed Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium, and so stirred their passion that he persuaded them to put out to sea and attack Cornelius, of whose ships they

μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἔς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεινα αἴτιοι μάλιστα ἐγεγένηντο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν.

2. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Ταραντα πέμπουσι, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὓς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλὰ θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ' οὓς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἅ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτῖσαι, σφίσι δ' ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχλεύαζον εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἑλληνίσειαν· ἔσκωπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον. Φιλωνίδης δέ τις, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκώμμων, Ποστουμίῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἐπικύψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατησχημόνησεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιζεν ὡς ἐπὶ γελοίῳ, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, “ἐκπλυνεῖτε,” ἔφη, “τοῦτο αἵματι πολλῷ, τοιούτοις ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν.” καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀποκριναμένων ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὕβριν ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος οὐκ ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις, (3) καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν Αἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλε

sank four and captured one with all on board. They also accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans over-passing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison under a flag of truce. B.C. 282

2. When the Romans learned of these events, they sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand that the prisoners who had been taken, not in war, but as mere sight-seers, should be surrendered; that the citizens of Thurii who had been expelled should be brought back to their homes; that the property that had been plundered, or the value of what had been lost, should be restored; and finally, that they should surrender the authors of these crimes, if they wished to continue on good terms with the Romans. The Tarentines made difficulties about admitting the embassy to their council at all, and when they had received them jeered at them whenever they made a slip in their Greek, and made fun of their togas and of the purple stripe on them. But a certain Philonides, a fellow fond of jest and ribaldry, going up to Postumius, the chief of the embassy, turned his back to him, drew up his dress and polluted him with filth. This spectacle was received with laughter by the bystanders. Postumius, holding out his soiled garment, said: "You will wash out this defilement with much blood—you who take pleasure in this kind of joke." As the Tarentines made no answer the embassy departed. Postumius carried the soiled garment just as it was, and showed it to the Romans.

3. The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Aemilius, who was waging war against the Samnites,

τὰ μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐᾶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντίνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγὰς προκαλέσασθαι, ἂν δ' ἀπειθῶσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε προύτεινε τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς γνώμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ βουλευομένοις ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐκδοῦναί τινας ἤδη δεδουλωμένων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνους ἐπισφαλές. "εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκρατῶς ἑξόμεθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἴσου, Πύρρον ἐξ Ἠπείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλῶμεν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφήνωμεν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου." ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. U. p. 343.

VIII

Οτι μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τε παρὰ σφᾶς βίᾳ, καὶ φανερῶς ἐνυβρίζοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς οὐ πρεπούσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάσιά τε ἔνοπλα ἔτασσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν ὥριζε, τότε δὴ καὶ πάμπαν ἀήθεσιν ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιτάγμασι κάμνοντες οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν ᾐσθάνοντο σαφῶς. Val. p. 553.

to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh, for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and make him our leader in this war." This was done. B.C. 282

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

After the shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, 281 arrived at the harbour of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, utterly worn out by exercises and tasks to which they were unaccustomed, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly.

IX

1. Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, μή τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοί τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν Ῥηγίνων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὐωχουμένους ἐν ἑορτῇ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀκουσίαις συνῆσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφερον ὅτι Ῥηγῖνοι τὴν φρουρὰν προεδίδοσαν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατῳκημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κἀκείνοις ἐς ἰδίους ξένους ὅμοια δεδρακόσιν.

2. Ἀλγήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἰατροῖς ἀπιστοῦντα, μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ῥηγῖνος ἀνήρ, μετῳκηκὼς ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν ἀγνοούμενος. οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ συντόμῳ φαρμάκων ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρίσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι, καὶ λαθὼν ἔπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὀδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὗρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

3. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τήν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἔτι Ῥηγίνοις λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους

IX. From the Same

1. Some Roman soldiers were stationed in Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were feasting on a holiday, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of outrage on their hosts not long before. B.C. 280

2. Suffering from an affection of the eyes and distrusting the physicians of Rhegium, Decius sent for a medical man who had migrated from Rhegium to Messana so long before that it was forgotten that he was a Rhegian. The latter persuaded him that, if he wished speedy relief, he should use certain hot drugs. Having applied a burning and corrosive ointment to his eyes, he told him to bear the pain till he should come again. Then he secretly returned to Messana. Decius, after enduring the pain a long time, washed off the ointment and found that he had lost his eyesight.

3. Fabricius was sent by the Romans to re-establish order. He restored the city to those Rhegians who still remained, and sent the ringleaders in the mutiny

τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἳ μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἄταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς,[1] οἷα πηρός, ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. id. ib.

X

1. Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρῄζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων ἐς διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Κινέαν τὸν Θεσσαλόν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀρετήν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσαντος μήτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσημένον στρατόπεδον· ἐδίδου δ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρον, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐῷεν, Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίταις καὶ Δαυνίοις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἀποδοῖεν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γιγνομένων ἔφη τούτων Πύρρον ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων.

2. Οἱ δ' ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἕως Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καῖκος ἐπίκλησιν, ἤδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, "ἠχθόμην,"

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[1] **MSS. ἐπιμελῶς, which can hardly be right.**

back to Rome. They were beaten with rods in the forum, then beheaded, and their bodies cast away unburied. Decius, who, being blind, was negligently guarded, killed himself. B.C. 280

X. From "The Embassies"

1. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, having gained a victory over the Romans and desiring to recuperate his forces after the severe engagement, and expecting that the Romans would then be particularly desirous of coming to terms, sent to the city Cineas, a Thessalian, who was so renowned for eloquence that he had been compared with Demosthenes. When he was admitted to the senate-chamber, he extolled the king for a variety of reasons, laying stress on his moderation after the victory, in that he had neither marched directly against the city nor attacked the camp of the vanquished. He offered them peace, friendship, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, provided that they included the Tarentines in the same treaty, left the other Greeks dwelling in Italy free under their own laws, and restored to the Lucanians, Samnites, Daunii, and Bruttians whatever they had taken from them in war. If they would do this, he said that Pyrrhus would restore all his prisoners without ransom.

2. The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said:

εἶπεν, "ὅτι μὴ βλέπω· νῦν δ' ὅτι ἀκούω. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ὑμῶν βουλεύματα ἠξίουν μήθ' ὁρᾶν μήτ' ἀκούειν, οἳ δι' ἓν ἀτύχημα ἀθρόως οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τοῦτο δράσαντα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτά τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ὀνομάζειν." ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις ὁ Ἄππιος εἰπὼν καὶ ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε σύμμαχον μήτε Ῥωμαίοις δικαστὴν ἢ διαιτητήν.

3. Καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ καὶ Ἄππιος εἶπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέᾳ. Λαιουίνῳ δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἴ τις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔτι παρών, καὶ θεώμενος αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένους ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφάς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθὼν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρὸς ὕδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἱ δὲ οὐ Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πύρρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος τῷ Λαιουίνῳ Κορουγκάνιος ἧκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ' ἧς εἶχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τἆλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυνθανομένῳ Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὅλη, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυμάσαντος μεταλαβὼν φάναι, "βασιλέων μᾶλλον

"I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Has a single misfortune made you in a moment so forget yourselves as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give the heritage of your fathers to the Lucanians and Bruttians? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator of the Romans. B.C. 280

3. The Senate made answer to Cineas in the very words of Appius. They decreed the levying of two legions for Laevinus, and made proclamation that whoever would volunteer in place of those who had been lost should put their names on the army roll. Cineas, who was still present and saw the multitude jostling each other in their eagerness to be enrolled, is reported to have said to Pyrrhus on his return: "We are waging war against a hydra." Others say that not Cineas, but Pyrrhus himself said this when he saw the new Roman army larger than the former one; for the other consul, Coruncanius, came from Etruria and joined his forces with those of Laevinus. It is said also that when Pyrrhus made some further inquiries about Rome, Cineas replied that it was a city of generals; and when Pyrrhus wondered at this, he corrected himself, and said, kings rather

ἢ στρατηγῶν." Πύρρος δ', ὡς οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖόν οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, πάντα δῃῶν. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγνίαν, βαρεῖαν δ' ἔχων ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἡγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διῄρει.

4. Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἠξίουν λῦσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ σπενδομένοις μὲν ἔφη, καθάπερ προεῖπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσούτους. ἐξένιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειεν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς Ἤπειρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δώσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασαμένοις. ἐπιγελάσας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὴν δ' ἐμήν," ἔφη, "παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς οἴσεις σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ· καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον." οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω φασὶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἠπειρῶται μεταλαβόντες ἐμὲ σοῦ προθήσουσιν.

than generals. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no B.C. 280 expectation of peace from the Senate, he pressed on towards Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

4. Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and such others of his allies as they had taken. He replied that if they were ready for peace, he would, as Cineas had said in his proclamation, release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. However, he entertained them in a kingly way and hearing that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would bring about a treaty of peace, he would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who arranged the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer at all as to public matters, but said: "Neither your friends nor you, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear." Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."

5. Ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κρονίων τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔπεμπεν ἄνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ᾧ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἃ ὁ Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἑορτάσαντας ἐπανήκειν ἐς αὐτόν. τούτους ἡ βουλή, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἑορτάσαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὖθις ἐδόκει. U. p. 345.

XI

1. Ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἤδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατέπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἄρχων Σικελίας, ἄρτι ἐτεθνήκει, οὗ θυγατέρα Λάνασσαν ἔχων ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νῆσον οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπετο. ὤκνει δ' ὅμως ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἄνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπεῖν. ἄσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτόμολον ἐπιβὰς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην χάριν ὁμολογήσοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἄγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὅπῃ δύναιτο πράξοντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἔφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι

5. Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus again thought that war was unavoidable. B.C. 280

XI. From the Same

1. While Pyrrhus was perplexed by the Roman complication he was also disturbed by an uprising of the Molossians. At this time too Agathocles, the king of Sicily, had just died, and as Pyrrhus had married his daughter Lanassa, he began to look upon Sicily, rather than Italy, as his natural possession. Still he was loath to abandon those who had summoned him to their aid, without some kind of arrangement for peace. Seizing eagerly the occasion of the sending back of the traitor who had deserted from him, he testified his gratitude to the consuls for thus saving his life, and also sent Cineas to Rome to make the same acknowledgments, and to surrender the prisoners by way of recompense, instructing him to procure peace in whatever way he could. Cineas brought a large number of presents both for men and 278

πολλὰ δὲ γυναιξί, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόδωρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενος, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰσχύειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

2. Οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις· καί φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ' αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ δώρων· ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτοὶ πολυτελῶς ἐξένιζον, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἰχμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετά τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων . . .[1] καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἱππέων, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας. id. p. 348.

XII

1. Ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἤδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρὺν ἐπί τε ξενίαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶνδε γεγονὼς ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, φορτίσι δὲ καὶ ὁλκάσι πολὺ πλείοσιν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διαναυμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πλὴν

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[1] The text appears to be defective here.

women, hearing that the people were fond of money B.C. 278
and gifts, and that women had had large influence among the Romans from the earliest times.

2. But they warned each other against the gifts, and it is said that no man or woman accepted anything. They gave Cineas the same answer as before. If Pyrrhus would withdraw from Italy and send an embassy to them without gifts, they would agree to fair terms in all respects. They treated the embassy, however, in a sumptuous manner, and in their turn sent back to Pyrrhus in exchange all the Tarentines and others of his allies whom they held as prisoners. Thereupon Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with his elephants and 8,000 horse, promising his allies that he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, for the Carthaginians had driven him out of Sicily.

XII. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. After the battle and the armistice with the
Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily, promising he 276
would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sank seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except

δώδεκα μόνων, αἷς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἐτίνυτο Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐπιζεφυρίους, ὅτι φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτῆς, ὑβρίσαντας ἐς αὐτούς, ἀνῃρήκεσαν. ὠμῶς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων τε καὶ συλῶν ὁ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκώψας τὴν ἄκαιρον θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι πλοῦτον ἄπονον εὐβουλίαν.

2. Ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμὼν ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέρριψεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Λοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὥστε καὶ Πύρρον ὀψὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, καὶ θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλαῖς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ ἀπαντώντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσαντας ἢ λέγοντι συνθεμένους, ἢ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἔκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπεπράχει κακῶς. Val. p. 554.

twelve. Escaping with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. He massacred and plundered them with savage cruelty, not even sparing the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying jestingly that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labour. B.C. 276

2. He put to sea laden with his spoils, and was overtaken by a storm, which sank some of his ships with their crews, and cast the others ashore. But all the sacred things the waves brought back safe into the harbours of the Locrians. Wherefore Pyrrhus, perceiving too late the consequences of his impiety, restored them to the temple of Proserpina and sought to propitiate the goddess with numerous sacrifices. As the victims were unpropitious he became still more furious, and put to death all those who had advised the temple-robbing, or had assented to it, or had taken part in it. Such is the story of Pyrrhus' disaster.

BOOK IV

THE GALLIC HISTORY

FRAGMENTS

Δ΄

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εἷλον ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξήλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὖθις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοϊντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοί, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοῖς Γάϊος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀπήντα, ὅς τις καὶ στρατηγήματι τοιούτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλωσιν οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ' ἀφιέντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχθείη τὰ δόρατα· βαλόντων δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων ἀναπηδᾶν ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοῇ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι· καταπλήξειν

BOOK IV

FROM THE GALLIC HISTORY

I. An Epitome of Appian's Book "De Rebus Gallicis"

1. The Gauls took the initiative by attacking the B.C. 390
Romans. They took Rome itself, except the Capitol,
and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and
expelled them. At a later period, when they had
made a second invasion, he overcame them again 367
and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being
then in his eighty-first year. A third army of
Gauls which invaded Italy was in its turn de-
stroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. 361
Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic 358
tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to spring up together, and with a cheer close speedily with the

γὰρ ὧδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶνδε δοράτων ἄφεσιν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχείρησιν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ ἀπεοικότα ἀκοντίοις· ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν ὑσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦδε καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρίς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατιᾷ.

2. Ἄλλους δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκα Ποπίλλιος, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου υἱός. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μαρίου ὑπατειῶν πλεῖστόν τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα φοβερώτατον χρῆμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καί τινας ὑπάτους Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατέκοψεν· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεὶς ἅπαντας διέφθειρε. τελευταῖα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίοις πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυριάσι τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, εἴ τις ὑφ' ἓν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίων πλείοσι, καὶ τούτων ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐζώγρησαν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔθνη δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὀλίγην κομιδῇ στρατιὰν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ κατέκανε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλών. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἔπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιὼν καὶ παραθαρ-

enemy. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by B.C. 389 an immediate charge, would terrify their adversaries. The Gauls used spears not unlike javelins, pila, as the Romans call them, four-sided, half of wood and half of iron, which was soft except for the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans.

2. Another Gallic force was defeated by Popillius, 350
and after this Camillus, son of the former Camillus, 349
defeated the same tribe. Afterwards Aemilius 225
Pappus won some trophies from the Gauls. Shortly 105
before the consulships of Marius a most numerous and warlike horde of Celtic tribes, most formidable in bodily strength, made incursions into both Italy and Gaul, and defeated some of the Roman consuls, and cut their armies in pieces. Marius was sent against them and he destroyed them all. The latest and greatest war of the Romans against the 58
Gauls was that waged under the command of Caesar, for, in the ten years that he held command there, they fought with more than 4,000,000 barbarians, taken all together. Of these 1,000,000 were captured and as many more slain in battle. They reduced to subjection 400 tribes and more than 800 towns, which had either revolted from their allegiance or were conquered for the first time. Even before Marius, Fabius Maximus Aemilianus 121
with a very small army waged war against the Gauls and killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only fifteen of his own men; and he did this although suffering from a recent wound, passing down the

ρύνων, καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμητέον, τὰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀπήνης φερόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βάδην χειραγωγούμενος.

3. Καῖσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλουητίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πίσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἑλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Λαβιηνὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ Τρικούρους ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ' Ἀριοουίστου Γερμανούς, οἳ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζους τῶν μεγίστων ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλπει, καὶ πόᾳ ἐχρῶντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τροφῇ, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ φερέπονοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὐδὲ λογισμῷ ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ τινὶ ἀλλὰ θυμῷ χρώμενοι καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης καὶ φερεπονίας ἡσσῶντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὁρμῆς βαρυτάτης ἐπεπήδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνεώθουν· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ κατεστρατήγουν αὐτούς, καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίους αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ἀπέκτειναν.

4. Μετὰ τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς καλουμένοις Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμόν τινα περῶσι, τοσούτους ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτρέψαντο, ἄρτι στρατόπεδον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσαν,

ranks and encouraging his troops, and showing them how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others. B.C.

3. Caesar began his war against them by gaining a victory over some 200,000 of the Helvetii and Tigurini. The latter at an earlier period had captured a Roman army commanded by Piso and Cassius and sent them under the yoke, as is related in the annals of Paulus Claudius. The Tigurini were now overcome by Labienus, Caesar's lieutenant, and the others by Caesar himself, together with the Tricorii, who were aiding them. He also overcame the Germans under Ariovistus, a people who excelled all others, even the largest men, in size; savage, the bravest of the brave, despising death because they believe they shall live hereafter, bearing heat and cold with equal patience, living on herbs in time of scarcity, and their horses browsing on trees. But it seems that they were without patient endurance in their battles, and fought under the guidance, not of intellect and science, but of passion, like wild beasts, for which reason they were overcome by Roman science and endurance. For, although the Germans charged them with tremendous force and pushed the whole of the legions back a short distance, the Romans kept their ranks unbroken, out-manœuvred them, and eventually slew 80,000 of them. 58

4. Afterwards Caesar fell upon the so-called Belgae as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies. The Nervii, however, defeated him by falling suddenly upon his army as it was getting itself into camp after a march. They made a very great 57

τοὺς δὲ ταξιάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἅπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθάρησαν, ἑξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλοβρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπετῶν δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοί τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σούκαμβροι δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔτρεψαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

5. Ἐπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον, ἠπείρου τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον ἔτι. ἐπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμπώτεως· ἄρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἥπτετο τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλεύετο, ἠρέμα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαίῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν.

II

Ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῖρα Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἱκανὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἑτέρας γῆς· οἳ τό τε Ἄλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν, καὶ Κλουσίνοις, εὐδαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν, ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔνσπονδοι γεγονότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις συνέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβί-

slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. B.C. 57 Caesar himself took refuge on a hill with his bodyguard, where the enemy surrounded him; but, being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion, they were destroyed, although they were 60,000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones. Caesar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tencteri, 55 armed and unarmed together. The Sigambri with 500 horse put to flight 5,000 of Caesar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

5. Caesar was also the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine. He also passed over to Britain, an 55 island larger than a very large continent, and still unknown to the men of Rome. He crossed by taking advantage of the ebb tide. For as it began to affect the sea, the fleet was impelled by the waves, slowly at first, then more rapidly, until finally Caesar was carried with great swiftness to Britain.

II. From "The Embassies"

In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek 391 calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt on both banks of the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as

ους τρεῖς, οἳ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἔμελλον προαγορεύσειν ἀνίστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρῄζοντες δὲ γῆς οὔπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλουσίνους ἐνῆγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνεῖλέ τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Κλούσιον. U. p. 349.

III

Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἳ Κελτῶν ἁπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμους ἐπολέμησαν. ᾔτει τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότους οἱ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεγίγνωσκον μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἁμαρτεῖν, αἰδοῖ δὲ οἴκου διαφέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονοῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάρ-

B.C. 391 ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate a country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared neither the threats nor the arms of any man, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii, who had come as ambassadors, urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief of that band, stripped his body, and carried his arms back to Clusium.

III. From the Same

After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, refused to receive the Roman embassy, and subsequently, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans, selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii

χους, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἤδη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ἥκειν αὐτούς, ἂν ἔτι μηνίωσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάψασθαι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. id. p. 350.

IV

Ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Suid. v. ὑφίσταται.

V

Ὅτι Καιδίκιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνῖσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. ὁ δὲ ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸν ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ηὐξάμην ἐπιποθῆσαί με Ῥωμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτην ἤλπισα τὴν ἐπιπόθησιν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιοτέραν εὐχὴν εὔχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν." Val. p. 557.

VI

Ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἠρέμουν ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον παραστησόμενοι. καί τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still angry. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an outrage, and, being indignant at it, they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause with them in the war. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome. B.C. 391

IV. From Suidas

He (Caedicius) promised to carry letters through the enemy's ranks to the Capitol. 390

V. From "Virtues and Vices"

When Caedicius bore the decree of the Senate to Camillus, by which he was made consul, he exhorted him not to cherish anger against his country on account of the harm it had done him. The latter, interrupting him, said: "I could not have prayed to the gods that the Romans might some time long for me, if I had known what that longing was to mean to them. Now I pray the nobler prayer that I may render my country a service equal to the calamity that has befallen her."

VI. From the Same

When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest

κατέβαινεν ἱερεύς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δή τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεὼν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰδεσθέντων ἢ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὧδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος. id. ib.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδην ἐνεπίμπλαντο οἱ Κελτοί, τήν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρπούς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἀφυᾶ. τά τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ὑγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἀδύνατα πάμπαν ἐγίγνετο· ὑπό τε ἱδρῶτος καὶ ἄσθματος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως. id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἄδην.

VIII

Οὓς γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαίοις, "οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν βοὴν βαρεῖαν ἱέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἰωροῦντες. ὧν τὸ ἄτολμον ὁρῶντες, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίεσθε τῷ ἔργῳ." Suid. v. ἱέντες.

named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed with the sacred utensils through the ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and the sanctity of his appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us. B.C. 390

VII. From the Same

The Gauls filled themselves to repletion with wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature, and inhabiting a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other produce. Thus their bodies, being large and delicate and full of flabby flesh, grew, by reason of excessive eating and drinking, heavy and corpulent, and quite incapable of running or hardship; and when any exertion was required of them they speedily became exhausted by perspiration and shortness of breath.

VIII. From Suidas

He (Camillus) showed them naked to the Romans and said: "These are the creatures who assail you with such terrible shouts in battle, and clash their arms and shake their long swords and toss their hair. Behold their lack of hardihood, their softness and flabbiness of body, and gird yourselves to your work."

IX

Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾶν, καὶ τοῖς πονουμένοις ἑτέρους νεαλεῖς ἐπιπέμπειν ἀεί. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως. id. v. νεαλής.

X

Ὁ δὲ Κελτὸς ἀγανακτῶν καὶ λιφαιμῶν ἐδίωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπειγόμενος· ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος ἀεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε πρηνὴς ὁ Κελτός. καὶ δεύτερον τοῦτο μονομάχιον ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλαύχουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

XI

Ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τά τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριψεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσους ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθῄρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε

IX. From the Same

The people beheld the battle from the walls, and B.C. 36
constantly sent fresh troops to support those who were growing weary. But the tired Gauls, having thus to engage with opponents who were fresh, took to disorderly flight.

X. From the Same

The Gaul, furious and exhausted with loss of 349
blood, pursued Valerius, eager to grapple and fall with him. But, as Valerius kept continuously retiring, the Gaul at last fell headlong. The Romans felicitated themselves on this second single combat with the Gauls.

XI. From "The Embassies"

The Senones, although they had a treaty with the 283
Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, and accordingly the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the herald's staff in their hands, and wore the inviolable garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, made a forced march against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword.

ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἥβῃ πάντας ἔκτεινεν ὁμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἦγεν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμῃ. ὕστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι πατρίδας ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσι, συνέπεσον ἐς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἡττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἥδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 350.

XII

Ὅτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδιδόντας, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Γναίου Δομετίου. ᾧ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτὴς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἐσκευασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρείποντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες· δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι. μουσικός τε ἀνὴρ εἵπετο, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοῖτον, εἶτ' Ἀλλόβριγας, εἶτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἔς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμνῶν· οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἕνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τοῖς Σαλύων δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν. id. p. 351.

He reduced the women and children to slavery, B.C. 283 killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for the future. Britomaris alone he took with him as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones, having no longer any homes to escape to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

XII. From the Same

The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by 121 the Romans, took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnaeus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants also adorned, and by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as bodyguards. A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.

XIII

Ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα λῃστεύουσα πολύανδρος ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις, ᾗ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειρούντων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αἰτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐκ ἐπῆν ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαί τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀφέξεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁδῶν ἡγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς διαδραμών, ἀδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἔτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσών, ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ζόφος καὶ ὄμβρος καὶ βρονταὶ βαρεῖαι, τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης ἐπιπεσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη. σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὣς ἐς ὕλας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυγόντες, τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρᾳ συνῆλθον. καὶ Τεύτονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρουν. id. p. 352.

XIII. From the Same

A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no movement in this direction he marched against them himself, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends[1] of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would abstain from molesting them. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then cut across by the shorter, and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, who were still resting, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans only escaped in small bands into the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul. B.C. 113

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[1] i.e. *amici*, as opposed to *socii*. See Heitland's *Roman Republic*, vol. ii, section 428.

XIV

Ὁ δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἀψαυστεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἕως ἡμέρα γένηται, πολύχρυσα εἶναι δοκῶν. Suid. vv. ἀψαύστως et Κίμβρος.

XV

Ὅτι ἔθνη δύο Τιγύριοι καὶ Ἑλουήτιοι ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος πυθόμενος διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανόν ἐστι ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσαμένοις ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὅμηρα δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκριναμένων δ' εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενος φθάσαι τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Τιγυρίους ἐλάσσους ὄντας ἔπεμπε Λαβιηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλουητίους ἐχώρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβιηνῷ τὸ ἔργον εὐμαρές, ἀδοκήτοις Τιγυρίοις περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεψαμένῳ καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀσυνταξίᾳ. U. p. 352.

XVI

Ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἰδούοις ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπολέμει φίλοις οὖσι Ῥωμαίων. τότε μὲν δή, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθείς, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰδούων, καὶ φίλος ἠξίωσε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ψηφισαμένου. id. p. 353.

XIV. From Suidas

He ordered them to leave the bodies of the Cimbri intact till daylight because he believed they were adorned with gold. B.C. 113

XV. From "The Embassies"

Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion into the Roman province of Gaul. When Caesar heard of this movement, he built a wall along the river Rhone about a hundred and fifty stades in length to intercept them. When they sent ambassadors to him to endeavour to make a treaty, he ordered them to give him hostages and money. They replied that they were accustomed to receive these things, not to give them. As he wished to prevent them from forming a junction he sent Labienus against the Tigurini, who were the weaker, while he himself marched against the Helvetii, taking with him about 20,000 Gallic mountaineers. The work was easy to Labienus, who fell upon the Tigurini unawares on the river bank, defeated them, and scattered the greater part of them in disorderly flight. 58

XVI. From the Same

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, crossed to this side before Caesar's arrival and made war against the Aedui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from the Aedui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Caesar being himself consul and voting for it. 59

XVII

Ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος ὁ Γερμανῶν βασιλεύς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων αὖθις συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἠξίωσεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐστράτευεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν μετ’ ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ’ ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν. id. ib.

XVIII

Ὅτι Οὐσιπέται, ἔθνος Γερμανικόν, καὶ Ταγχρέαι δοκοῦσι πρότεροι σφετέροις ἱππεῦσιν ὀκτακοσίοις τρέψασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναγὲς ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσαμένους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχιλίους. ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ

XVII. From the Same

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, who had B.C. 59
been voted a friend of the Roman people, came to Caesar to hold a colloquy. After they had separated he wished to have another. Caesar refused it, but sent some of the leading men of the Gauls to meet him. Ariovistus cast them into chains, and therefore Caesar threatened him and led his army against him; but fear fell upon the army on account of the military reputation of the Germans.

XVIII. From the Same

It is believed that the Usipetes, a German tribe, 55
and the Tencteri, with 800 of their own horse, put to flight without provocation about 5,000 of Caesar's horse: that Caesar detained the ambassadors whom they subsequently sent: and that what befel resulted for them in so sudden and complete a disaster that 400,000 of them were cut to pieces. One writer says that Cato in the Roman Senate proposed that Caesar should be surrendered to the barbarians for this deed of blood perpetrated while negotiations were pending. But Caesar in his own diary says that when the Usipetes and Tencteri were ordered to go back forthwith to their former homes, they replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi, who had driven them away, and that they were waiting for their answer; that while these negotiations were pending, they set upon his men with 800 of their horse, and by the suddenness of the attack put to flight his 5,000; and that when they

τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. id. ib.

XIX

Εὐθὺς *ἠρέθιζον τοὺς* Βρεττανοὺς *παρορκῆσαι, ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἔτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον.* Suid. v. *παρορκῆσαι.*

XX

Δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ *περὶ τῷ* Κικέρωνι *ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τοὐπίσω.* id. v. *δείσαντες.*

XXI

Ὅτι ὁ Βριτόρης *διέφθειρεν* Αἰδούους Ῥωμαίων *ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοῦ* Καίσαρος *ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιὰν ἐφθακέναι.* Mai, Scriptorum veterum nov. collect. t. 2 p. 367.

sent another embassy to explain this violation of B.C. 55 good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before giving his answer.

XIX. From Suidas

Straightway they stirred up the Britons to violate the oath, complaining that while a treaty with them was in force the army was still present.

XX. From the Same

Caesar apprehending an attack on [Quintus] 54 Cicero turned back.

XXI. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

Britores seduced the Aedui from their Roman allegiance. When Caesar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.

BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

FRAGMENTS

E′

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ

I

Ὅτι ἀποροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρηματων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυπήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐς Πτολεμαῖον ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρώμενοι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων. U. p. 354.

II

1. *Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὶς ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δὶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ᾗ δὴ καὶ πάνυ προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποροῦντες ἤδη καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ᾔτουν ἀνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπόν τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον τὸν*

BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

I. From "The Embassies"

Both Romans and Carthaginians were destitute of money; and the Romans could no longer build ships, being exhausted by taxes, yet they levied foot soldiers and sent them to Africa and Sicily from year to year, while the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, seeking to borrow 2000 talents. He was on terms of friendship with both Romans and Carthaginians, and he sought to bring about peace between them; but as he was not able to accomplish this, he said: "It behoves one to assist friends against enemies, but not against friends." B.C. 252

II. From the Same

1. When the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea, where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius 242

ὕπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἧκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρῦσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρῄνεσεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἑκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἔκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσμένα πάντοθεν ἑστῶτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύναιτο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνέθεντο.

2. Καὶ ἦν ἐφ᾽ οἷς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις εἰσί, Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων νήσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίοις δὲ ἢ Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράννῳ πολέμου Καρχηδονίους μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ξενολογεῖν, ποινὴν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἑκάστου ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσιν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆες ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἑπτακόσιαι, Καρχηδονίων δὲ πεντακόσιαι. Σικελίας δὲ οὕτω τοῦ πλέονος Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, ὅσου Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον· φόρους τε

Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans. B.C. 242

2. The conditions were these: All Roman prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians were to be delivered up; Sicily and the small neighbouring islands to be surrendered to the Romans; the Carthaginians not to initiate any war against Syracuse or its ruler, Hiero, nor to recruit mercenaries in any part of Italy; the Carthaginians to pay the Romans a war indemnity of 2000 Euboic talents in twenty years, in yearly instalments payable at Rome. (The Euboic talent is equal to 7000 Alexandrine drachmas.)[1] So ended the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, having lasted twenty-four years, in which the Romans lost 700 ships and the Carthaginians 500. In this way the chief part of Sicily (all of it that had been held by the Carthaginians) passed into the possession of the Romans. The latter levied tribute on the

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[1] The Euboic talent is equal to about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.

αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον ἔπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἱέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνεπεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

3. Καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίους τόν τε μισθὸν ᾔτουν τὸν ἔτι ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχας. ᾔτουν δὲ καὶ Λίβυες, ὑπήκοοι μὲν ὄντες οἵδε Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατείας ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὁρῶντες· ἐχαλέπαινόν τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τρισχιλίων, οὓς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὕνεκα. διωθουμένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἑκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἄμφω Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ἣ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνα· ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τήν τε ἄλλην ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἔπειθον καὶ δούλων πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τά τε Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεηλάτουν. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμούμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβυας Ῥωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιὰν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύναιντο διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον· οἳ ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρατῶς εἴχοντο τοῦ πολέμου. id. ib.

Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges B.C. 242 among their towns, and sent a praetor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had cooperated with them in this war, was declared to be their friend and ally.

3. When this war was ended the Gallic mercenaries demanded of the Carthaginians the pay still due to them for their service in Sicily, together with the presents that Hamilcar had promised to give them. The African soldiers, although they were Carthaginian subjects, made the same demands, on account of their service in Sicily, and they did so the more arrogantly since they saw that the Carthaginians were weakened and humbled; they were angry also on account of the killing of 3000 of their own number whom the Carthaginians had crucified for deserting to the Romans. But when the Carthaginians refused their demands, both Gauls and Africans joined together and seized the city of Tunis, and also Utica, the largest city in Africa after Carthage. Making this their base, they began to stir a revolt in the rest of Africa, brought over to their side some Numidians, and received into their ranks a vast number of fugitive slaves, and pillaged the Carthaginian possessions in every direction. Being thus pressed by enemies on all sides the Carthaginians appealed to the Romans for aid against the Africans. The Romans did not send them a military force, but allowed them to draw supplies from Italy and Sicily, and to recruit mercenaries in Italy for this war only. They also sent deputies to Africa to arrange peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously.

III

Ὅτι Ἱπποκράτης καὶ Ἐπικύδης, ἀδελφὼ μὲν ἀλλήλων, στρατηγὼ δὲ Συρακοσίων, Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ πολλοῦ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τὰς Συρακούσας οὐκ ἴσχυον ἐκπολεμῶσαι, κατέφυγον ἐς Λεοντίνους διαφερομένους τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ κατηγόρουν τῆς πατρίδος ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς Ἱέρωνος ἐφ' ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ πεποιημένου μόνοι Συρακόσιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαινίσειαν. οἱ δὲ ἠρεθίζοντο. καὶ Συρακόσιοι μὲν ἐπεκήρυσσον, εἴ τις Ἱπποκράτους ἢ Ἐπικύδους κομίσειε τὴν κεφαλήν, ἰσόσταθμον αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἀντιδώσειν, Λεοντῖνοι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἱπποκράτη στρατηγὸν ᾑροῦντο. Val. p. 558 et hinc Suid. v. Ἐπικύδης.

IV

Ὅτι Σικελοὶ καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὠμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλόν τι καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἱπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμνυντο μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἀγοράν τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον, ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους. Val. ib.

V

Ὅτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπίστευον χωρὶς ὅρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωρούντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὤμοσε μήτε φρουρήσειν τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. id. ib.

III. From "Virtues and Vices"

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans, and accused their countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general. B.C. 214

IV. From the Same

The Sicilians, who had been for a long time embittered against the Roman general Marcellus, on account of his severity, were still more excited against him because he had gained entrance to Syracuse by treachery. For this reason they joined themselves to Hippocrates, and took an oath together that none of them would make peace without the others, and sent him supplies and an army of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. 212

V. From the Same

Marcellus was in such bad odour that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauromenians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.

VI

1. Ὅτι Κρήτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτῃ βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λῃσταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀντώνιος, καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός. καὶ ἦν ὅδε πατὴρ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ὕστερον Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρῆτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐκδοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς Λασθένη τὸν πολεμήσαντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ λῃστικὰ πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχον αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅμηρα τριακόσια καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια.

2. Οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος. καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κνωσσὸν Πανάρης Μετέλλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτός. Μετέλλου δὲ Κνωσσὸν περικαθημένου, ὁ Λασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κνωσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρῆτες ἐς Πομπήιον

VI. From "The Embassies"

1. The island of Crete seemed to be favourably disposed towards Mithradates, king of Pontus, from the beginning, and it was said that the Cretans furnished him mercenaries when he was at war with the Romans. It was believed also that, in order to gratify Mithridates, they supported the pirates who then infested the sea, and openly assisted them when they were pursued by Marcus Antonius. When Antonius sent legates to them on this subject, they made light of the matter and gave him a disdainful answer. Antonius forthwith made war against them, and although he did not accomplish much, he gained the title of Creticus for his work. He was the father of the Mark Antony who, at a later period, fought against Caesar Augustus at Actium. When the Romans declared war against the Cretans, on account of these things, the latter sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. The Romans ordered them to surrender Lasthenes, who had carried on war against Antonius, and to deliver up all their pirate ships and all the Roman prisoners in their hands, together with 300 hostages, and to pay 4000 talents of silver. B.C. 74

2. As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Cnossus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Cnossus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which he had filled with money, and escaped from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great, 69

Μάγνον, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ λῃστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψειν. ὁ δὲ ἀσχόλως τότε ἔχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μέτελλον, ὡς οὐ δέον ἔτι πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξανίστασθαι τῆς νήσου· παραλήψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθών. ὁ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτήν, Λασθένει συνθέμενος ὅμοια Πανάρει. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὅδε δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος. U. p. 371.

VII

Ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ ποῦλχερ ἐπίκλην, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εὐπρεπής, τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἤρα. καὶ ἁρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὄντα ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαΐου παρελθεῖν οἷα γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναις γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθῆναι. Val. p. 558.

who was conducting the war against the pirates, and B.C. 69 against Mithradates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island.

VII. From "Virtues and Vices"

The patrician Clodius, surnamed Pulcher, which 62 means handsome, was in love with Caesar's wife. He arrayed himself in woman's clothes from head to foot, being still without a beard, and gained admission to Caesar's house as a woman in the night, at a time when the mysteries [of the Bona Dea] were celebrated, to which only women were admitted. Having lost his guide, and being detected by others by the sound of his voice, he was hustled out.

BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN

Ζ

ΙΒΗΡΙΚΗ

Ι

CAP. I 1. Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἴβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιιόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περίκλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὀρῶν καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἑσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἥμισυ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἱσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους

BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN

I

CHAP. I

Boundaries of Spain

1. The Pyrenees mountains extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by Celts, who are now called Galatians or Gauls, the western part by the Iberians and Celtiberians, beginning at the Tyrrhenian sea and extending in a circle by way of the Pillars of Hercules to the Northern ocean. Thus the whole of Iberia is sea-girt, except the part bordered by the Pyrenees, the largest and perhaps the most precipitous mountains in Europe. Of this circuit they use for sailing the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They do not traverse the Western and Northern ocean, except in crossing over to Britain, and this they accomplish by availing themselves of the tides, as it is only half a day's journey.[1] For the rest, neither the Romans nor any of the subject peoples navigate that ocean. The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length

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[1] The time is incredibly short. The error may be accounted for by the mistaken ideas of the ancients as to the relative positions of Spain and the British Isles. See Tacitus, *Agr.* 24.

CAP. 1 ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.

2. Οἵ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοί μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρύη. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαί τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἕλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδέ τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἴβηρσιν ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσὸς ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικές μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι· καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

3. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τήνδε εὐδαίμονα οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἤρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη, τὸ δ' ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἃ μὲν εἶχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενά τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἷλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίους Ἴβηρσι

is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.

2. What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not my purpose to enquire closely, as I am writing only Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phoenicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpessus. I think also that the Phoenicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phoenician type, and their god is the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquarians.

King Arganthonius

3. This favoured land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they already occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and after-

Early Carthaginian occupation

CAP. I καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῖραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφήν.

4. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἔκδημος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὅδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθουν. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεθ᾿ ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἳ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ᾿ ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως.

Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Λιβύην, ἀπαιτούντων ἐκείνων ὁ Λιβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξῆπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Λιβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοσαν ποινὴν ὧν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ Λιβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶνδε συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὧν ἦν δημοκοπικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα

wards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the relations between the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history.

4. The first war which the Romans waged against the Carthaginians was a foreign war for the possession of Sicily, and was fought in Sicily itself. In like manner this second war concerning Spain was waged in Spain, although in the course of it the combatants invaded and devasted both Italy and Africa with large armies. This war began about the 140th Olympiad by the infraction of the treaty which had been made at the end of the Sicilian war. The grounds for the infraction were as follows. B.C. 218

Hamilcar Barca

Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, while commanding the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, had promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries and African allies, which they demanded after he returned to Africa; and thereupon the African war was kindled. In this war the Carthaginians suffered severely at the hands of the Africans, and also ceded Sardinia to the Romans as compensation for injuries they had inflicted upon Roman merchants during this African war. When Hamilcar was brought to trial for these things by his enemies, who charged him with being the author of all the calamities of his country, he secured the favour of the chief men in the state (of whom the most popular was Hasdrubal, who had married Barca's daughter), by which means he both managed to evade punishment and also, when a

CAP. I ἔχων, τάς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγὸς ἔπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεθῆναι μετ' Ἄννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς εὐθύνας τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.

5. Παυομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἄννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος ὢν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα, διῆλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκοπίας (ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διῄρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοῖεν, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου), μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἵ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοί, κτείνουσιν ὧδε. ξύλων ἁμάξας ἄγοντες, αἷς βοῦς ὑπέζευξαν, εἵποντο ταῖς ἁμάξαις ὡπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἰδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος· ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Ἴβηρες αὐταῖς βουσὶν ἐξῆψαν τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ ἐξώτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἴβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτόν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.

disturbance with the Numidians broke out, secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship.

B.C. 238

5. At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. Taking a number of wagons loaded with wood, they yoked oxen to them, and themselves followed in arms. When the Africans saw this they fell to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. But when they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons, with the oxen still yoked to them, and drove them against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid.

B.C. 229

Death of Hamilcar

II

CAP. II 6. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀρεσκόμενοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἁπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστήν, ὄντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις, παῖδά τε ὄντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικός οἱ γιγνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοῖ προσήγετο, πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἔς τε τὰ βίας δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς μέσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστὼς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.

7. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴβηρού ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες περί τε τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἴ πῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ᾤκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφότεροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπη-

II

CHAP. II

Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar

6. THE Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and destined soon after to become famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed his lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal won over most of the Spanish tribes by persuasion, for he had a winning manner, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Ebro, which divides Spain about in the centre, and flows into the Northern ocean at a distance of five days' journey from the Pyrenees.

7. The Saguntines, a colony of the island of Zacynthus, who lived about midway between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro,[1] and all the other Greeks who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Emporiae and in other parts of Spain, having apprehensions for their safety, sent ambassadors to Rome. The Senate, who were unwilling to see the Carthaginian power augmented, sent an embassy to Carthage. It was agreed between them that the limit of the Carthaginian power in Spain should be the river Ebro; that beyond that river the Romans should not carry war against the subjects of Carthage, nor should the

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[1] A curious error. Saguntum is considerably south of the Ebro.

CAP. II κόοις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.

8. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὠμῶς διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν· ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ ὄντα κομιδῇ νέον, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὑτῶν· καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολῖται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὅ τε δῆμος ἅμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγίγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκομένοις τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσοιτο τοῖς πατρῴοις ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

9. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐδ' ἠξίου τὴν ἔχθραν, ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἐσαεὶ καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ

Carthaginians cross it in arms; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. And these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage.

B.C. 220

Rise of Hannibal

8. Some time later, while Hasdrubal was governing that part of Spain belonging to Carthage, a slave whose master he had cruelly put to death killed him secretly during a hunting expedition. Hannibal convicted him of this crime and put him to death with dreadful tortures. Then the army proclaimed Hannibal, who, although still very young, was greatly beloved of the soldiers, their general, and the Carthaginian Senate confirmed the appointment. But those of the opposite faction, who had feared the power of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, when they learned of their death, despised Hannibal on account of his youth and prosecuted their friends and partisans on the old charges. The people took sides with the accusers, bearing a grudge against those now prosecuted, because they remembered the old severities of the times of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and ordered them to bring into the public treasury the large gifts that Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had bestowed upon them, as being enemy's spoils. The prosecuted parties sent messages to Hannibal, asking him to assist them, and admonished him that, if he should neglect those who were able to assist him at home, he himself too would become an object of contempt to his father's enemies.

9. He had foreseen all this and he knew that the prosecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor for ever be

CAP. II Καρχηδονίων κουφόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥᾳδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὢν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁρκωθῆναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἄσπειστος ἐχθρὸς ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ χρονίοις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλών, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεεῖ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὖθις ἀναρριπίσειεν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίσι καὶ φόβοις ἔσεσθαι μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δέ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχουσαν ἀποφήνας (οὐ γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις), εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὣς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.

10. Ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολήτας, οἳ γείτονές εἰσι Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἷ καταβοᾶν ὡς τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικούντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτός τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλων, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ δὲ

at the mercy of the fickleness of the Carthaginians, who without scruple repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into embarrassments and fears, he would place himself and his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain at peace. But if he could stir up a fresh war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the empire of the world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and even if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him glory.

10. Considering then that to cross the Ebro would constitute a brilliant beginning, he persuaded the Turbuletes, who are neighbours of the Saguntines, to make complaints to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were cooperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind, until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. And when he got the

CAP. II ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὖθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μέν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ῥωμαίοις ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐφίστη. ἑλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

11. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκειμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τούτοις τοῖς πρέσβεσι πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προυκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῄζειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. ὧν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπεῖχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι

Hannibal attacks Saguntum

B.C. 21

opportunity, he arranged that the Turbuletes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and invited the latter to send ambassadors. On their arrival he invited both sides to state their differences in his presence; but the Saguntines replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed the Ebro with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed numerous guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

The Saguntines appeal to Rome

11. The Saguntines, oppressed by this sudden and unheralded attack, sent an embassy to Rome. The Senate commissioned its own ambassadors to go with them. They were instructed first to remind Hannibal of the agreement, and if he should not obey to proceed to Carthage and complain against him. When they arrived in Spain and were approaching his camp from the sea, Hannibal forbade their coming. Accordingly they sailed for Carthage with the Saguntine ambassadors, and reminded the Carthaginians of the agreement. The latter accused the Saguntines of repeatedly wronging their subjects. When the Saguntines offered to submit the whole question to the Romans as arbitrators, the Carthaginians replied that they did not need an arbitration because they were able to avenge themselves. When this reply was brought to Rome some advised sending aid to the Saguntines. Others favoured delay, saying that the Saguntines were not inscribed as allies in the agreement with them, but merely as free and autonomous, and that people in

CAP. II καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

12. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιεκάθητο συνεχῶς (εὐδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει τῆς πολιορκίας), τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσος ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχώνευσαν ὡς ἀχρεῖον Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἑλόμενοί τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξέδραμον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἔτι καὶ οὐδέν τοιοῦτον ὑπονοούντων· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὁπλιζομένους, ἔστι δ' οὓς ἤδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπώλοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρῶσαι τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγῶν, αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαζον. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίοις, πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ δυνατῇ γενομένῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν αἰκιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐπιθάλασσόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὐ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγαθῆς, ᾤκιζεν αὖθις καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄποικον ἀπέφαινεν· ἣν νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενῆ.

a state of siege were still free. The latter opinion prevailed.

Fall of Saguntum

12. The Saguntines, when they despaired of help from Rome, and when famine weighed heavily upon them, and Hannibal kept up the blockade without intermission (for he had heard that the city was very prosperous and wealthy, and for this reason did not relax the siege), issued an edict to bring all the silver and gold, public and private, to the forum, where they melted it down with lead and brass, so that it should be useless to Hannibal. Then, thinking that it was better to die fighting than starve to death, they made a sally by night upon the lines of the besiegers while they were still asleep, not expecting an attack, and killed some as they were getting out of bed, and arming themselves with difficulty in the confusion, and others in actual conflict. The battle continued until many of the Africans and all the Saguntines were slain. When the women witnessed the slaughter of their husbands from the walls, some of them threw themselves from the housetops, others hanged themselves, and others slew their children and then themselves. Such was the end of Saguntum, once a great and powerful city. When Hannibal learned what had been done with the gold he was furious, and put all the surviving adults to death with torture. Observing that the city was on the sea, and not far from Carthage, with good land in the neighbourhood, he re-populated it and made it a Carthaginian colony, and I think it is now called Spartarian Carthage.[1]

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[1] Appian here, as elsewhere (p. 169), confuses Saguntum with New Carthage. We know from Pliny that New Carthage was called 'Spartaria' from the abundance of Esparto grass in the neighbourhood.

III

CAP. III 13. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, οἷς εἴρητο ἐξαιτεῖν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἁμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον· ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπραξαν ὧδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὕτω γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, "ἐνταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω· ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερα αἱρεῖσθε λάβετε." οἱ δ' ἔφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἃ βούλει δίδου." προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, "δεχόμεθα." καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λελυμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπιὼν ὑπήγετο, ἢ πείθων ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν κατεσκέπτετο. καὶ διῆλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ . . .

14. . . . ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Λιβύῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Λίβυές ποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, οὐδ' ὑπενόουν), Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Λόγγον ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Λιβύην ἐξέπεμπον (καὶ ὅσα Λόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων

III

CHAP. III

B.C. 218

War declared

13. The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: "Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose." They replied: "No: do you give us whichever you like." Thereupon he offered them war, and they all cried out with one accord: "We accept it." Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was now free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighbouring tribes and brought them into subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, without disclosing his object, which was the invasion of Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

14. [The Romans, thinking that] Spain and Africa would be the scene of the war (for they never even dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus

CAP. III στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονιακῇ βίβλῳ συγγέγραπται), Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔστελλον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεμπον Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν. τούτοιν ὁ μὲν Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα, δείσας μὴ ἀδοκήτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς Γναίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατιὰν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἕως Ἀννίβαν ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ μόλις ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἡ ἑξῆς βίβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἣ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἀννιβαϊκή.

15. Γναῖος δὲ οὐδέν, ὅ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἴβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν· Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήναντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὖθις ἔστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσιν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμούμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἑκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο· καὶ

and the other Roman generals did in Africa has been related in my Punic History. They also ordered Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain with sixty ships, 10,000 foot, and 700 horse, and sent his brother Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio with him as legate. The former (Publius), learning from Massilian merchants that Hannibal had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, and fearing lest he should fall upon the Italians unawares, handed over to his brother the command in Spain and sailed with his quinqueremes to Etruria. What he and the other Roman generals after him did in Italy, until, at the end of fifteen years and with exceeding difficulty, they drove Hannibal out of the country, is set forth in the following book, which contains all the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, and is therefore called the Hannibalic book of Roman history.

The two Scipios

15. Gnaeus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him pro-consul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios carried on the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they

CAP. III γὰρ ἤστην πιθανωτάτω στρατηγῆσαί τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.

16. Θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὖθις ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς, Μάγωνά τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἕτερον, ὃς Γέσκωνος ἦν υἱός. καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὥς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνων ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὄρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶνι. ἔνθα αὐτῷ προσιὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη· καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου, ἔλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδέν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἔπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἕτεροι Λιβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ' αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τούς τε προτέρους ἀνῃρήκεσαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἕως ἐσέδραμεν ἔς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνέπρησαν οἱ Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

17. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπόθησαν Ἴβηρες, ὅσοι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἤνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἄρτι ἀφιγ-

were as persuasive in winning allies as in leading armies.

16. The Carthaginians, having made peace with Syphax, again sent Hasdrubal into Spain with a larger army than before, and with thirty elephants. With him came also two other generals, Mago and another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. From this point the war was more difficult for the Scipios. They were successful, nevertheless, and many Africans and many elephants were destroyed by them. Finally, winter coming on, the Africans went into winter quarters at Turditania, Gnaeus Scipio at Orso, and Publius at Castolo, where he received news of Hasdrubal's advance. Sallying out from the city with a small force to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, he came upon Hasdrubal unexpectedly, was surrounded by the enemy's horse and killed, with all his men. Gnaeus, who knew nothing of this, sent some soldiers to his brother to procure corn, who fell in with another African force and became engaged with them. When Gnaeus learned this he started out instantly with his light-armed troops to assist them. The Carthaginians, who had already cut off the former party, made a charge on Gnaeus and compelled him to take refuge in a certain tower, which they set on fire, and burned him and his comrades to death.

Their defea and death

B.C. 212

17. In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labours, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were dismayed. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and

CAP. III μένου, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . . ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῆς. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ τῶνδε γιγνομένου, τὰ Λιβύων ὑπερηύξετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο· καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἵδε οἱ Λίβυες ἐς τὰ ἕτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δέει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

IV

CAP. IV 18. Προύγραφον οὖν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἔτι πλείων ἐγίγνετο φόβος, καὶ σιωπὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπεῖχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς οὗ Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ἐν Ἴβηρσιν υἱός, νέος μὲν ὢν κομιδῇ (τεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἦν), σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφί τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὀδυράμενος ἐπεῖπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναι τιμωρὸς ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θείῳ καὶ πατρίδι. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἐπαγγειλάμενος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἀλλ᾿ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῇ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε κουφολογῆσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν δὲ

with him Claudius [Nero], to Spain, with a fleet and 1000 horse, 10,000 foot, and adequate resources. As nothing of importance was accomplished by them, the Carthaginian power increased until it embraced almost the whole of Spain, and the Romans were restricted to a small space in the Pyrenees. This news again caused increasing panic among the Romans, who feared lest these same Africans should make an incursion into northern Italy while Hannibal was ravaging the other extremity. The result of this was that, although they desired to, they were unable to evacuate Spain, because of the fear that the war there would be transferred to Italy. CHAP. III

IV

18. Accordingly a day was fixed for choosing a general for Spain. When nobody offered himself the alarm was greatly augmented, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly, until Cornelius Scipio, son of the Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, still a very young man (he was only twenty-four years of age), but reputed to be a man of judgment and spirit, came forward and made an impressive speech concerning his father and his uncle, and after lamenting their fate said that he, above all men, was marked out to be the avenger of his father, his uncle and his fatherland. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one inspired, promising to subdue not only Spain, but Africa and Carthage in addition. To many this seemed like the light-headed talk of a young man, CHAP. IV B.C. 211 Cornelius Scipio

CAP. IV δῆμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἀλλὰ προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὅμοια· καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἑκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντος. οὐδενὸς δ᾽ ἑλομένου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξῄει μετὰ μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δῃοῦντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

19. Παραλαβών τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὓς ἦγεν ἐς ἓν συναγαγών, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἥκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεόν. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθανόμενος δ᾽ ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὁμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ

but he revived the spirits of the people (for those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older men however said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and made another dignified speech in the same vein. He declared that his youth would be no impediment, but added that if any of his elders wished to assume the command he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. For it was impossible that he should take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He also received money and equipment and twenty-eight war-ships, with which he sailed to Spain.

B.C. 210 He arrives in Spain

19. Taking the forces already there, and joining them in one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he pretended that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2,500 horse, but that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all

CAP. IV πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθῃ τότε δὲ ἤδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἔκρινε πρῶτον ἐς τούτους ἐπιδραμεῖν διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὁρμητήριον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἕξων ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἀργυρεῖα καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Λιβύην βραχύτατον.

20. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῖσδε λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδενὶ προειπὼν ὅπῃ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου δύναντος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν δι᾿ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα ἕῳ, τῶν Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἡτοιμάζετο, κλίμακάς τε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντῃ περιτιθείς, χωρὶς ἑνὸς μέρους, ᾗ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἦν βραχύτατον, ἕλος δ᾿ αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι᾿ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ αἱ νῆες αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν (ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ μεγαλοψυχίας ἤλπιζε πάντως αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ ἕω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς, τοὺς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπηδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι), τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνῆγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὅδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη

Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum[1] (but then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines, its wealth, and its fertile territory, would afford him an impregnable base for operations against Spain by land and sea, and would secure for him the shortest passage to Africa.

He attacks New Carthage

20. Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches, and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and missiles in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbour so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for in his great-hearted courage he thought that he would certainly capture the city), before dawn he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, to sally out at a favourable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and sent the others to man the parapets. He, too, stationed numerous

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[1] See note on p. 157.

CAP. IV καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἴχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοῆς καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρῶντο προθύμως ἅπασιν.

21. Ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὠθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἧσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἵ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἔκαμνον ἤδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφήρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὖθις ἦν ὁ πόνος πολύς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ᾗ τὸ βραχὺ τεῖχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἕλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν· ἄμπωτις γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐπῄει μὲν ἐς μαστούς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἰδών, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὡς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, "νῦν ὁ καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεὸς ἀφῖκται. πρόσιτε τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ τείχους. ἡ θάλασσα ἡμῖν ὑποκεχώρηκεν. φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι."

machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and made active preparations. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some from machines, and some from slings; and every other available resource and means of attack was eagerly employed.

21. Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords, and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they did much damage, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. Then the fortune of the day turned, and those who were on the walls began to be distressed, and the ladders were put in place against them. Then the Carthaginian swordsmen ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe trouble to the Romans, until Scipio the general, who was encouraging and cheering on his men in every quarter of the field, noticed the sea retiring on the southern side, where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one's breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: "Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you."

CAP. IV 22. Καὶ πρῶτος ἁρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερέ τε καὶ ἀνέβαινεν, οὔπω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες αὐτὸν οἵ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοῦ κλίμακας προσετίθεσάν τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὁρμῆς ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὅμως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἕτεροί τε περιθέοντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοί τινες ἀνέῳξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας· ὁ δ' ἐσεπήδησε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἔχων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

23. Ὁ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἑλὼν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπῆρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα δρᾶν, αὐτός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῄει μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου

22. He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armour-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and themselves began to mount. Amid shouts and clamour on all sides, giving and receiving blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and buglers, and ordered them to sound a rousing blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Thereupon some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. The inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these had been cut down, he quickly retreated with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately attacked. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered.

He captures the city

23. Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired in all his actions. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life, from that time on. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of

CAP. IV προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβών, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὅμηρά τε Ἰβήρων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προείληπτο, ἔθυε τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπήνει, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιώνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρώτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἑξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἔθυεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρῴας εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὖθις ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγεσαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. V 24. Ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἐς ὕψος ἐγεῖραι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτός τε ἐπιὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἕκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπήγετο, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο.

the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Forum. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days' thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

and vast stores

V

CHAP. V

24. Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and ordered that the wall should be raised to the proper height, where the ebb-tide left it bare. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing by force the places which still held out. There were two

Scipio marches against the two Hasdrubal

CAP. V Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπὼ καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγει, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτι βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἀξιῶν Καρχηδονίοις ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιᾶς ἐλευσομένης αὐτίκα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἕτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθείη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καί τινα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσειν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαιτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν· ἔνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἡσσᾶτο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαιτύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.

25. Ὁ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνῆλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβήρων, οὓς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὧν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἱππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὧδε δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας ἐπιδιήρει, καὶ Λαίλιον μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπελαυνόντων· ὡς δὲ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διώκειν αὐτούς, τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων

Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighbouring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he himself made an incursion into the territory of Lersa, which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Baetica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was at once defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Baetica also.

B.C. 207

25. Now this Hasdrubal collected all the remaining Carthaginian forces in Spain at the city of Carmone, to fight Scipio with their united strength. Hither came a great number of Spaniards under Mago, and of Numidians under Masinissa. Hasdrubal had the infantry in a fortified camp, while Masinissa and Mago, who commanded the cavalry, bivouacked in front of it. Against this disposition of the enemy Scipio divided his own cavalry, and sent Laelius to attack Mago, while he himself opposed Masinissa. For some time Scipio was in a critical and difficult position, since the Numidians discharged their darts at his men, then retreated, and then wheeled and returned to the charge. But when Scipio ordered his men to level their spears and pursue without intermission, the Numidians, having no chance to turn around, retreated to their camp. Thereupon Scipio desisted from the pursuit and encamped

The battle of Carmone

CAP. V ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν εὐσταθῶς ἧπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα δύναμις ἑπτακισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα· Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατῆρχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρῆτο μόνοις.

26. Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων· θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεὶς πάλιν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἥκειν τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἔς τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις. καὶ λέγων ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὓς μεθ᾽ ὁρμῆς καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐδείκνυέ τε, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὁρῶν καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἕτοιμον ἠρεθίζοντο. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἶχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ᾽ εἴασε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔτι ὢν θεόληπτος, ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὁπλίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἀδο-

in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number, and that was why he hesitated for some time, and did not offer battle, but contented himself with skirmishing.

26. When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, still Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the customary divine sign had appeared to him and conjured him to attack the enemy. It was better, he said, to trust in heaven than in the size of his army, because his former victories were gained by divine favour rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead. Turning suddenly round with a quick movement and a loud cry, he pointed them out and exclaimed that this was another sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one inspired. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished, he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardour to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "After these signs we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led

CAP. V κήτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας Σιλανῷ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδούς·

27. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἄσιτον οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοῆς. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν· οἷς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι χρήσιμα· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἡττῶντο δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέοντός τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἵππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, καὶ παρά τινος ἀσπίδα λαβών, ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγώς, "ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι." τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὁρῶντες οἷ κινδύνου φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδούμενοί τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας, ἣν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Λίβυες ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειπούσης αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἑσπέραν· καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίωνι τῆς περὶ Καρμώνην μάχης, ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι.

them against the enemy, who were not expecting them, giving the command of the horse to Silanus and of the foot to Laelius and Marcius.

27. When Scipio made this sudden advance against them, the two armies being only separated by ten stades, Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa quickly armed their men amid confusion and tumult, although they had not yet taken their food. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry, however, were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: "Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril." Then, when those who were near saw, and those who were distant heard, what danger he was in, all in like manner were moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general's safety, and with a cheer charged furiously upon the enemy. The Africans, unable to resist this charge, gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.

CAP. V 28. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἵπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν ὁσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὀχυρόν τι χωρίον προύλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἄφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἤπειγον ἕτεραι χρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὖθις ὑποχωρούντων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν στρατιὰν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν τὴν Πυρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ' ὧν ἐξενολογήκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας ὧδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγνοούντων, ἠπείγετο.

VI

CAP. VI 29. Λεύκιος δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιὼν ἔφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγὸν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὧδε ἔσεσθαι, Λαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προύπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς

CHAP. V

28. After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed, dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. But when they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he himself went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, broke camp and rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians.

VI

CHAP. VI

B.C. 206

Scipio visits Africa

29. Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Laelius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship between himself

CAP. VI αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν ἐπίωσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἕτερα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενός τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ᾔει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Λαιλίῳ.

30. Καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς ἐπανήγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἱστίῳ χρώμενος παρέπλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀδεῶς καὶ κατήχθη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξένιζεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ἰδίᾳ καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὖθις αὐτῷ κατεῖχεν, ἕως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Σκιπίων, καταγόμενός τε καὶ πλέων· λέγεται δ' ἐν Σύφακος ἑστιώμενος συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος καταπλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἴη.

31. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνί τινες Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἑτέρους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἄννωνος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου,

and the Scipios, and to ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. Scipio heard of this, and judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Laelius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person.

30. When he was approaching the shore, the Carthaginian envoys, who were still with Syphax, sailed out against him with their war-ships, without Syphax's knowledge. But he spread his sails, outran them completely, and reached the harbour. Syphax entertained both parties, but he made an alliance with Scipio privately, and having given pledges sent him away. He also detained the Carthaginians, who were again lying in wait for Scipio, until he was a safe distance out to sea. So much danger did Scipio incur both going and returning. It is reported that at a banquet given by Syphax, Scipio reclined on the same couch with Hasdrubal, and that the latter questioned him about many things, and was greatly impressed with his dignity, and afterwards said to his friends that Scipio was formidable not only in war but also at a feast.

Other operations in Spain

31. At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards from the towns which had gone over to the Romans, were still serving with Mago as mercenaries. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He hemmed in 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When

CAP. VI συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, ὅθεν ἀποροῦντες ἁπάντων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννωνα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα στρατηγὸν ὄντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροώμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ᾔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἔς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, "ἄξια μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, οἳ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ' ἡμῖν, εἵλεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν· δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθεῖσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι." ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθὺς ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα μακραῖς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἄννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

32. Καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγέσθαι, πολεμικῶς δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ΚασταKαίων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἵπετο· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Ἰλυργίαν πόλιν, ᾗ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος

they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered all of them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain, he said: "You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your countries have subjected themselves to us. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow you to go unpunished." At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued, in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, after a stubborn resistance, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno's disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions.

32. While Mago lay here inert, Silanus was sent by Scipio to receive the submission of the city of Castax, but as the inhabitants received him in a hostile manner he encamped before it, and communicated the fact to Scipio, who sent him some siege engines and prepared to follow, but turned aside to attack the town of Ilurgia. This place had been an ally of the Romans in the time of the elder Scipio, but

Destruction of Ilurgia

CAP. VI δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ὑποδεξαμένη Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεδεδώκει. ὧν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσσαρσιν ὥραις ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχὼν ἕως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτόν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἔκτεινον ὁμαλῶς καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχε, διδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγνῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς ἐμποδὼν οὖσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ τοῖσδε μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἑνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι ἀγαθῆς· αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεζεύγνυε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, δῃοῦν ὅσα δύναιντο.

33. Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις ἀεὶ ἐμμείνασα ὁμαλῶς· οἱ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὥρκωσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἁλίσκηται, τὰ γύναια

at his death had changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to a Roman army with the appearance of continued friendship, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could.

The siege of Astapa

33. There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill

CAP. VI καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρας τῶνδε ποιησάμενοι τοὺς θεούς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκιον οὐχ ὑφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐτρέψαντο. ὁπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἦν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ὅμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἁπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.

VII

CAP. VII 34. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ’ ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διῴκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ’ ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ηὑρῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δ’ αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἔκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνός τινες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἑλόμενοι καὶ

CHAP. VI

the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed his light-armed troops and cavalry. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. But the Romans eventually overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the Astapians, refrained from wantonly injuring their houses.

VII

CHAP. VII

Mutiny in Scipio's army

34. After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to secede to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under

CAP. VII ταξιάρχους, καὶ τἆλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνυον ἀλλήλοις. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπείθωσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ' ἅπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἤδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἥκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

35. Ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἠξίουν καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὥδευον ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα, καὶ ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαί τε καὶ δῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς ἅμα ἕῳ ξιφήρεις ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὔκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἤν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ' ἄρτι φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέ-

military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged the others to try to win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to the whole army, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he would immediately discharge his debt to them, and ordered them to come to New Carthage at once and get their provisions.

35. Upon reading these letters, some thought that they were not to be trusted. Others put faith in them. Finally they came to an agreement, and all set out to New Carthage together. When they approached, Scipio enjoined upon those senators who were with him that each should attach himself to one of the leaders of the sedition as they came in, and, as if to admonish him in a friendly way, should then make him his guest, and quietly secure him. He also gave orders to the military tribunes that each should have his most faithful soldiers in readiness at daybreak unobserved, with their swords, and station them at intervals in convenient places about the assembly, and if anyone should create a disturbance, to draw their weapons and kill him at once, without waiting for orders. Shortly after daybreak, Scipio himself was conveyed to the tribunal, and sent the heralds around to summon the soldiers to the place of meeting. The call was unexpected, and they were ashamed to keep their sick general waiting. They thought also that they were only called to get their rewards. So they came running together from all sides, some without

CAP. VII θεον ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν, οἱ μὲν ἄζωστοι τὰ ξίφη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις, οὐ φθάσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.

36. Σκιπίων δὲ φρουρὰν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὑτὸν ἀφανῆ, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτ' ἔφη τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθήσειν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξασιν, "οὓς ἐγὼ κολάσω δι' ὑμῶν." καὶ λέγων ἔτι προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ μὲν δὴ διίστανον, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺς αἰτίους παρῆγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλούντων, τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ χιλίαρχοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρουμένην εἶδεν, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐκβοήσαντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς αὐχένας ἁπάντων ἐς τοὔδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.

Ὧδε μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· 37. Ἰνδίβιλις δέ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμέ τι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδεῖτο προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ζημιώσας συνηλλάσσετο. λαθὼν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος

their swords, others dressed only in their tunics, as they had not even had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste.

The mutiny suppressed

36. Scipio, having a guard around himself that was not observed, first accused them of their misdeeds, and then added that he should hold the ringleaders alone responsible. "These," said he, "I shall punish with your help." He had scarcely said this when he ordered the lictors to divide the crowd in two parts, and when they had done so the senators dragged the guilty leaders into the middle of the assembly. When they cried out and called their comrades to their aid, every one who uttered a word was killed by the tribunes. The rest of the crowd, seeing that the assembly was surrounded by armed men, remained in sullen silence. Then Scipio caused the wretches who had been dragged into the middle to be beaten with rods, those who had cried for help being beaten hardest, after which he ordered that their necks should be pegged to the ground and their heads cut off. He proclaimed pardon to the rest. In this way was the mutiny in Scipio's camp put down.

Masinissa makes an alliance with Scipio

37. While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into part of the territory under Scipio's sway. When Scipio marched against him he made a brave resistance and killed some 1,200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations

CAP. VII ὤμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἂν ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύῃ. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἠγγύητο Μασσανάσσῃ· Σύφακα δ᾿ ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρως ἔκνιζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

38. Στρατηγοὺς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἔπεμπον ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἁρμοστὰς ἢ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων ὀλίγην στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ καταλιπών, συνῴκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραϊανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμοντος αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ δόξης ἀοιδίμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διά τε νεότητα καὶ ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἵ τε φθο-

with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was pricked with love of the girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. But Masinissa learned the facts and made an alliance with Scipio. And so Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned.

38. From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send praetors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. But he left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this is the native place of Trajan and Hadrian who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honours upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who B.C. 205

CAP. VII νοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὡμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὖθις ἀφίστατο· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἔκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τά τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρείλοντο, καὶ ὅμηρα ᾔτησαν, καὶ φρουρὰς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔληγε.

VIII

CAP. VIII 39. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἴβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιός τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἕλουιος, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἔτι τῆς κινήσεως γιγνομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρεπής, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι ῥήτορα γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένη.

envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realised in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honour of a triumph. But as soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons, and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The tribes that took sides with Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio's departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end. CHAP. VII

VIII

39. SUBSEQUENTLY, when the Romans were at war with the Gauls on the Po, and with Philip of Macedon, the Spaniards attempted another revolution, thinking the Romans now too distracted to heed them. Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius were sent from Rome as generals against them, and after them Minucius. As the disturbance became greater, Cato was sent in addition, with larger forces. He was still a very young man, but austere, laborious, and distinguished by such sagacity and eloquence that the Romans called him Demosthenes for his speeches, for they learned that Demosthenes had been the greatest orator of Greece. CHAP. VIII B.C. 197 Cato the Censor B.C. 195

CAP. VIII 40. Ὡς δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγηγέρατο, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μέν τι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὡς δ' ἔμελλε συνενεχθήσεσθαι μάχῃ, τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι νεῶν ἀποροῦμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπήδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτου δ' αὐτῆς ἐς δείλην ἑσπέραν ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πᾶν ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε τῆς νίκης. διώξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ' ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπρασκεν.

41. Πρεσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὅμηρά τε ᾔτησεν ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἑκάστους περιέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ ὥριζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν πορ-

40. When Cato arrived in Spain at the place called Emporiae, the enemy from all quarters assembled against him to the number of 40,000. He took a short time to discipline his forces. But when he was about to fight he sent away the ships which he had brought to Massilia. Then he told his soldiers that they had not so much to fear from the superior numbers of the enemy (for courage could always overcome numbers), as from their own want of ships, so that there was not even safety for them unless they beat the enemy. With these words he instantly joined battle, having inspired his army, not with hope, as do other generals, but with fear. As soon as they came to close quarters he flew hither and thither exhorting and cheering his troops. When the conflict had continued doubtful till the evening and many had fallen on both sides, he ascended a high hill with three cohorts of the reserve, where he could overlook the whole field. Seeing the centre of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a charge and a shout, and began the victory with his own hand. He pursued them the whole night, captured their camp, and slew a vast number. Upon his return the soldiers congratulated and embraced him as the author of the victory. After this he gave the army a rest and sold the plunder.

His victory in Spain

41. Now envoys came to him from all sides, and he demanded further hostages, and to each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the

CAP. VIII ρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἁπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη σφῶν, αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ᾗ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμὸν ἠπείλει. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἡττημένοι μεγάλῃ μάχῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις εἴθ' ἅπασι ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καιρόν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβούμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἕκαστοι προὔργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τείχη καθῄρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπακούειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὑφ' ἑνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθῄρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

42. Ὀλυμπιάσι δ' ὕστερον τέσσαρσιν, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἳ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα ᾤκηνται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὕπατος Φούλουιος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχῃ. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἄλης ἐβιότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἣ νεόκτιστός τε ἦν καὶ ὀχυρά, καὶ ηὔξετο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων

farthest town. The letters commanded the magistrates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the very day they received the order. If they postponed the day, he threatened to sell them into slavery. They, having been lately vanquished in a great battle, and not knowing whether these orders had been sent to them alone or to all, were much perplexed, for if it were to them alone, they felt that they were but objects of scorn, but if it were to the others also, they feared to be the only ones to delay. Wherefore as they had no time to send to each other, and were apprehensive of the soldiers, standing over them with the despatches, they each severally decided to consult the interests of their own safety. And so they threw down their walls with all speed, for when they had once decided to obey they were eager to gain credit for carrying out the work expeditiously. Thus the towns along the river Ebro in one day, and thanks to a single stratagem, levelled their own walls. Being less able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained longer at peace.

B.C. 181

Revolt of the Lusones

42. Four Olympiads later,—that is, about the 150th Olympiad,—many Spanish tribes, having insufficient land, including among others the Lusones, who dwelt along the river Ebro, revolted from the Roman rule. The consul Fulvius Flaccus attacked and defeated them, and the greater part of them scattered among their towns. But those who were particularly in want of land, and lived a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that Flaccus should deliver to them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for each

CAP. VIII ἑκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππον καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρίν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔφη σάγους οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἑπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλῄζοντο. χρῶνται δὲ διπλοῖς ἱματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἡγοῦνται.

43. Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάραουιν δὲ πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν· καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἁλώσεσθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπειγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιιόντος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μηνῦσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἰλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκών, ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάραουιν διαδραμὼν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκαρτερήσαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν· δισμύριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκήτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὁ δ' εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἶτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ

of their dead in the late war, and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighbouring barbarians on the road. These people wear a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fasten with a clasp after the manner of a military cloak, and they call it the *sagum.*

B.C. 179

The elder Gracchus in Spain

43. Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means even of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his daring plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish *sagum* and secretly mingled with the enemy's foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and slipped through into Caravis, and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers retired. About the same time the inhabitants of Complega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus' camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon

CAP. VIII πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνῴκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς, καθ᾽ ἃ Ῥωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι· ὅρκους τε ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι᾽ ἃ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

IX

CAP. IX 44. Ἔτεσι δ᾽ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἠγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὕτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνῴκιζεν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο, Τίτθους τε ὅμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν ἐς ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ᾔτει τοὺς ὁρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαί τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ᾽ αἱ Γράκχου συνθῆκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τείχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτίβηρσιν ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ Γράκχον. καὶ τῷ ὄντι

CHAP. VIII

them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and made himself master of Complega and those who dwelt in the neighbourhood. He gave a place in the community to the poorer classes, and apportioned land to them, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a splendid triumph.

IX

CHAP. IX

B.C. 153

The Belli and the Titthi

44. Some years later another serious war broke out in Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Sempronius Gracchus. It persuaded the inhabitants of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighbouring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed in the time of Gracchus, and also ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this too was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify those which already existed. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves

CAP. IX ἦσαν ἀφειμένοι, δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιάσδε δωρεὰς ἀεὶ προστιθεῖσα κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

45. Στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης· ὃν ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὔπω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονταί τε, καὶ Κάρον αὐτῶν Σεγηδαῖον, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἱροῦνται στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρᾳ δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἔς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἑτέρους ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἵδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ' ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἑκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.

46. Ἀρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς Νομαντίαν, ἣ δυνατωτάτη πόλις ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἄμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ᾑροῦντο· Νωβελίων δ' αὐτοῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δέ οἱ

subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always adds that they shall continue only during the pleasure of the Senate and Roman people.

B.C. 153

Beginning of the Numantine War

45. Accordingly Nobilior was sent against them as general with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged them to receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 5000 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they passed by. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him, and in their turn killed no less than 6000 Romans, including Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valour. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so.

46 Immediately, that very night, the Arevaci assembled at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here, after being joined by 300 Nomad horse, sent to him

CAP. IX Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὓς Μασσανάσσης ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὀπίσω τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο· καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι σφῶν οὐ πρὶν ἑωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεὶς ἠγριώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνήρει τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἔτι φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον. οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὅμοια πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτουν. ὅπερ ἀεὶ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι πολεμίους· καί τινες διὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος· ἣν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διώκοντες ἔκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα ἔλαβον. Κελτιβήρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχιλίους.

47. Καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβών, ἀγορᾷ μέν τινι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀξείνιον πόλιν σεσωρευμένῃ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών, ἐπανῆλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔς τι γειτονεῦον ἔθνος ἔπεμπεν, ἱππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν

by Masinissa, and ten elephants, he moved against the enemy, placing the animals in the rear, where they could not be seen. Then, when they came to close quarters, the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before in war, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior took the animals right up to the city walls, and fought bravely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no longer any distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, wounding them and tossing them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are frightened. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans then took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

47. Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon some stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there too, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, a cavalry officer, to secure the alliance of a neighbouring tribe and to ask for cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was return

CAP. IX αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτός τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶνδε πταισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὄκιλις, ἔνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχείμαζε, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλιγότητι καὶ νιφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὥστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλλυντο.

48. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νωβελίωνι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἄγων πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους· λοχώντων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διῆλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὄκιλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχὴς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὢν τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὅμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβών. Νεργόβριγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἠρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑπισχνοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων. εἶτ' ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, περί τε τῶν

ing with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, went over to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold.

B.C. 152

Claudius Marcellus in Spain

48. The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved through them with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was an effective general, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime in another quarter they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carrying off some of the baggage animals. They then came with the 100 horsemen, and claimed to have fulfilled their contract, explaining the attack on the rear-guard as an error committed by certain of their people who were ignorant of the agreement.

CAP. IX ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὡμολογημένα ἁμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἔδησε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν διεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. Νεργόβριγες δέ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἅμα μαὶ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες λυκῆν ἀντὶ κηρυκείου περικείμενον, ᾔτουν συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίτθοι δεηθεῖεν ὁμοῦ. ὧν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἠξίουν, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν· ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοί τινες ὑπ' ἐκείνων πεπολεμημένοι.

49. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευον. ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουσα ὅτι μή, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου Νωβελίων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκέλλου, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐπετετρόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσειν ἔφη τὰ δόξαντα. καὶ στρατιὰν εὐθὺς ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως· πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀδίκους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταγραφὰς καί τινας ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε

Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a herald's staff, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. This petition was opposed by some of the other natives on whom they had made war.

He makes an armistice

49. Marcellus sent ambassadors from each party to Rome to carry on their dispute there. At the same time he sent private letters to the Senate urging peace. He desired that the war should be brought to an end by himself, thinking that he should gain glory from this too. The ambassadors from the friendly faction, on coming to the city, were treated as guests, but, as was customary, those from the hostile faction lodged outside the walls. The Senate rejected the proposal of peace, and took it ill that these people had refused to submit to the Romans when asked to do so by Nobilior, the predecessor of Marcellus. So they replied that Marcellus would announce the Senate's decision to them. They at once enrolled an army for Spain, now for the first time by lot, instead of the customary levy, for since many had complained that they had been treated unjustly by the consuls in the enrolment, while others had been chosen for easier service, it was

CAP. IX συναγαγεῖν. ὧν ἐστρατήγει Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὕπατος, πρεσβευτῇ χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδόνα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἑλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον.

50. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὥδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τόν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστώθη τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργόβριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχὼν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ὁ τῶν Νομαντίνων στρατηγὸς Λιτέννων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔφη Βελλοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Ἀρουακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὅμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ᾔτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἔληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

51. Ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρῄζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἕτερον γένος Κελτιβήρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἳ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμη-

decided now to choose by lot. The consul Licinius Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his second in command Cornelius Scipio, who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage, and later of Numantia.

Licinius Lucullus succeeds Marcellus

50. While Lucullus was on the march Marcellus notified the Celtiberians of the coming war, and gave back the hostages in response to their request. Then he sent for the chief of the Celtiberian embassy in Rome and conferred with him privately a long time. From this circumstance it was even then suspected, and was strongly confirmed by later events, that he sought to persuade them to put their affairs in his hands, because he was anxious to bring the war to an end before the arrival of Lucullus. For after this conference 5000 of the Arevaci took possession of the city of Nergobriga: and Marcellus marched against Numantia, encamped at a distance of five stades from it, and was driving the Numantines inside the walls when their leader Litenno halted and called out that he would like to have a conference with Marcellus. This being granted, he said that the Belli, Titthi, and Arevaci put themselves entirely in Marcellus' hands. He was delighted to hear this, and having demanded and received hostages and money from them all, he let them go free. Thus the war with the Belli, the Titthi, and the Arevaci was brought to an end before Lucullus arrived.

B.C. 151

51. Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vaccaei, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbours of the Arevaci, although he had no warrant from the Senate, nor had they

His infamous conduct

CAP. IX κότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Λεύκολλον ἁμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἥκοι δεόμενος ἢ τί πολέμου χρῄζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοίη, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοῖς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη· καὶ τότε ἔφευγον οὐκ ὄντες μενεμάχοι, περί τε τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὠθουμένων ἀνῃρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους.

52. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανωσάμενοί τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὖθις ἠρώτων τί ποιοῦντες ἂν εἶεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅμηρά τε ᾔτει καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευέν οἱ συστρατεύειν. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἠξίου φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἴρητο γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Λεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὠμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους

ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for, and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani, whom the Vaccaei had maltreated, they retired for the time inside their walls, but sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. There was also a pitched battle, in which the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage for a long time, until they had expended all their darts. Then they fled, not being accustomed to withstand an onset, and while jostling each other at the gates about 3000 of them were slain.

52. The next day the elders of the city came out wearing crowns on their heads and bearing olive-branches, and again asked Lucullus what they should do to establish friendly relations. He replied that they must give hostages and 100 talents of silver, and place their cavalry at his disposal. When all these demands had been complied with, he asked that a Roman garrison should be admitted to the city. When the Caucaei assented to this also, he brought in 2000 soldiers carefully chosen, to whom he had given orders that when they were admitted they should occupy the walls. When this was done Lucullus introduced the rest of his army and ordered them at the sound of the trumpet to kill all the adult males of the Caucaei. The latter, invoking the gods who preside over promises and oaths, and upbraiding the perfidy of the Romans, were cruelly slain, only a few out of 20,000 escaping by leaping

CAP. IX διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων· ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτέρας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἃ δύναιντο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα λείποιεν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὑρεῖν.

53. Ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἔς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεφεύγεσαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείδει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοίη. ὁ δ', οἷον ἅπαντες οἱ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ' οὔπω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμινὰ δέ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἐθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γιγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὢν ὑπερήλγησέ τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὤν.

54. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἐπῆρε Ῥωμαίους, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατεῖχον· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν

down the sheer walls at the gates. Lucullus sacked the city and brought infamy upon the Roman name. The rest of the barbarians collecting together from the fields took refuge among inaccessible rocks or in the most strongly fortified towns, carrying away what they could, and burning what they were obliged to leave, so that Lucullus should not find any plunder.

53. The latter, having traversed a long stretch of deserted country, came to a city called Intercatia where more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had taken refuge together. Lucullus very foolishly invited them to enter into a treaty. They reproached him with the slaughter of the Caucaei, and asked him whether he invited them to the same kind of a pledge that he had given to that people. He, like all guilty souls, being angry with his accusers instead of with himself, laid waste their fields. Then he drew a line of siege around the city, threw up several mounds, and repeatedly set his forces in order of battle to provoke a fight. The enemy did not as yet respond, but fought with projectiles only. There was a certain barbarian distinguished by his splendid armour, who frequently rode into the space between the armies and challenged the Romans to single combat, and when nobody accepted the challenge he jeered at them, executed a triumphal dance, and went back. After he had done this several times, Scipio, who was still a youth, felt very much aggrieved, and springing forward accepted the challenge. Fortunately he won the victory, although he was small, and his opponent big.

Scipio Africanus the younger

54. This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were haunted by numerous

CAP. IX βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Λεύκολλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον· καὶ συνεπήχουν οἱ ἔνδον αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων· οἴνου γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ' ἁλῶν οὐδ' ὄξους οὐδ' ἐλαίου, πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγωῶν χωρὶς ἁλῶν ἑψόμενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγνυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μέν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν· μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν ἔς τινα δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνῳκοδόμουν. πάνυ δ' ἑκατέρων κακοπαθούντων (ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἥπτετο) Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, Λευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὡρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐς ὅμηρα. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Λεύκολλος αἰτῶν, οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἡγούμενος ὅλην Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.

terrors. A body of the enemy's horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned, and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance, while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from watching and want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and quantities of venison and rabbits' flesh boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when their mound was completed and by battering the enemy's walls with their engines they had knocked down a section, they rushed into the city, but were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where most of them perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. He was believed because of his reputation for virtue, and brought the war to an end on the following terms: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver which Lucullus demanded, and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver, he got none. In fact they had none, and these particular Celtiberians do not set any value on those metals.

CAP. IX 55. Ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ᾔει πόλιν, ἣ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἶχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευόν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι σιτολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱππεῦσιν ἠνώχλουν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυον. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀνεζεύγνυ, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων, ἑπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη.

X

CAP. X 56. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἳ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα ἐλῄζοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασὶν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινὰς ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι Βλαστοφοί-

CHAP. IX

55. He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. But, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. Being unable to get food, Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of an oblong, and still pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Douro. From thence the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccaei, which was waged by Lucullus contrary to the authority of the Roman people, but he was never even called to account for it.

Retreat of the Romans

X

CHAP. X

B.C. 155

The Lusitanian wa

56. At this time another of the autonomous nations of Spain, the Lusitanians, under Punicus as leader, were ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their praetors, Manilius and Calpurnius Piso, killed 6000 Romans, and among them Terentius Varro, the quaestor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the people called Blastophoenicians, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people settlers from Africa, whence they were called Blastophoenicians. Here

CAP. X νικας. Πούνικος μὲν οὖν λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Καίσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρος Μουμμίῳ, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἡττώμενος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίου δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τήν τε λείαν τὴν ἡρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβέ τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεῖα πολλά, ἅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετώθαζον.

57. Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιὼς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἴ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφῃρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κἀκεῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαίνου σφῶν ἡγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἳ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἷλον Κονίστοργιν. παρά τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Λιβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἑπόμενος ἐννακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δῃούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἑτέρων τινάς, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ἃ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ δια-

Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Caesarus. This man joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards, which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia.

B.C. 153

The doings of Mummius

57. Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. Having waited for the barbarians to pass by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured, he fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. The Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucaenus, being also incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured a large city of theirs, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the ocean, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocile. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocile. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty, he slew all of them too, so that not one escaped to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers.

CAP. X φυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις ἔκαυσεν.

Καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν, 58. ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, ὃς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπληξάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἔνια τοῦ Οὐεττώνων ἔθνους, ὁμόρου τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὡς δ' ἀνεζεύγνυε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καί τινας Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόους ἐπολιόρκουν· οὓς ἐπειγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρουιος Γάλβας ὁ Ἀτιλίου διάδοχος, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ' εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμως. ὅθεν ἀσθενοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὔσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἔνθα τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους διῆλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχείμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

59. Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφίσματος πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάζων ᾔσθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων, καὶ περιπέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων,

The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

B.C. 15

58. He was succeeded in the command by Marcus Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracae. This so terrified the neighbouring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, the successor of Atilius, hastened to relieve them. Having marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy's ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he recovered the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

Servius Galba

B.C. 151

59. Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccaei without authority, was then wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighbourhood he sent out his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them.

CAP. X ἔκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. περί τε Γάδειρα τὸν πορθμὸν ἑτέρων περώντων ἔκτεινεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας ἔς τινα λόφον ἀπετάφρευσε, πλῆθός τε ἔλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἄπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβεβήκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχθεσθαι ὡς δι' ἀπορίαν λῃστεύουσί τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν. "τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον," ἔφη, "καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει· δώσω δ' ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἀγαθήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικιῶ, διελὼν ἐς τρία."

60. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνῄεσαν οἷ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας· ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ πεδίον ἑκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθών. ὡς δ' ἧκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, θεμένους δ' ἀπετάφρευέ τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινας ἐσπέμψας ἀνεῖλεν ἅπαντας, ὀδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστεις ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνεῖλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστίᾳ μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιών, οὐκ ἀξίως δὲ Ῥωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὧν ἦν Οὐρίατθος, ὃς μετ' οὐ

He killed about 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill, and he drew a line of circumvallation around it, and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded Lusitania and gradually devastated it. Galba did the same on the other side. When B.C. 150 some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the very treaty which they had made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, and then transgressed, he received them favourably, and made a truce and pretended even to sympathise with them because they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break treaties. "For," said he, "poorness of soil and penury force you to do these things. But I will give my poor friends good land, and settle them in a fertile country, in three divisions."

His infamous conduct

60. Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place appointed by Galba. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country, until he should come and assign them their places. When he came to the first division he told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, lamenting and invoking the names of the gods, and the pledges which they had received. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery, imitating barbarians in a way unworthy of a Roman. A few escaped, among them Viriathus,

CAP. X πολὺ ἡγήσατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γενόμενα ὕστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Λευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος ὤν, ὀλίγα μέν τινα τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὀλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὢν ὁμοῦ τι Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντα διὰ κέρδη. μισούμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

XI

CAP. XI 61. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομήσεως, ἁλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἄγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβών, ἅπαντας ἔχων ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέπεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔς τι χωρίον, οἷ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὧδε γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἔπεμπον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἤδη. Οὐρίατθος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγών, τότε συνὼν

who not long afterward became the leader of the Lusitanians and killed many Romans and performed great exploits. But these things happened at a later time, and I shall not relate them now. Galba, being even more greedy than Lucullus, distributed a little of the plunder to the army and a little to his friends, but kept the rest himself, although he was already one of the richest of the Romans. But not even in time of peace, they say, did he abstain from lying and perjury in order to get gain. Although generally hated, and called to account for his rascalities, he escaped punishment by means of his wealth.

XI

CHAP. XI

B.C. 148

61. NOT long afterward those who had escaped the villainy of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had in all about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out, of falling into the hands of the Romans. So difficult was the position in which they were placed. They therefore sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was being made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them

The rise of Viriathus

CAP. XI αὐτοῖς, ὑπεμίμνησκε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας, ὁσάκις τε αὐτοῖς ὀμόσαντες ἐπιθοῖντο, καὶ ὡς ὅδε πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐπιορκιῶν Γάλβα καὶ Λευκόλλου διαφύγοιμεν. οὐδ᾽ ἀπορεῖν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου, ἂν ἐθέλωσι πείθεσθαι.

62. Ἐρεθισθέντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι γενομένων, ᾑρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται, κατ᾽ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφυγον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐετίλιος αὐτοὺς δείσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἑστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπεὶς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ᾽ ὠκυτάτοις ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ πάλιν ἱστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὡς δ᾽ εἴκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἑτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὁρμήσας δι᾽ ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποις ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διά τε βάρος ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀνομοιότητα. ὧδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογιγνώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐς

of the bad faith of the Romans, and how often the latter had set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, he said, they should not fail of an escape from the place.

62. Excited by the new hopes with which he inspired them, they chose him as their leader. He drew them all up in line of battle as though he intended to fight, but gave them orders that when he should mount his horse they should scatter in every direction and make their way as best they could by different routes to the city of Tribola and there wait for him. He chose 1000 only whom he commanded to stay with him. These arrangements having been made, they all fled as soon as Viriathus mounted his horse. Vetilius was afraid to pursue those who had scattered in so many different directions, but turning towards Viriathus who was standing there and apparently waiting a chance to attack, joined battle with him. Viriathus, having very swift horses, harassed the Romans by attacking, then retreating, again standing still and again attacking, and thus consumed the whole of that day and the next dashing around on the same field. As soon as he conjectured that the others had made good their escape, he hastened away in the night by devious paths and arrived at Tribola with his nimble steeds, the Romans not being able to follow him at an equal pace by reason of the weight of their armour, their ignorance of the roads, and the inferiority of their horses. Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various

CAP. XI τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὀκτὼ ἔτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει.

63. Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάτθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἴ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο.

Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ' Οὐρίατθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετιλίου αὐτός τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἑκατέρωθεν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐζώγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχυν ὁρῶν, ἔκτεινεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἑξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἵπετο τῷ Οὐετιλίῳ, συνέτασσεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισχιλίους συμμάχους, καὶ λαβών, προύπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἔκτεινεν, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

64. Οὐρίατθος δὲ τὴν Καρπητανιαν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιὼν ἀδεῶς ἐλεηλάτει, ἕως ἧκεν ἐκ

tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reinforcements from different quarters and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years.

63. It is my intention here to relate this war with Viriathus, which was very harassing and difficult to the Romans, and to postpone any other events which happened in Spain at the same time.

B.C. 147

He defeats Vetilius

Vetilius pursued him till he came to Tribola. Viriathus, having first laid an ambush in a dense thicket, retreated until Vetilius was passing by the place, when he turned, and those who were in ambush sprang up. On both sides they began killing the Romans, driving them over the cliffs and taking them prisoners. Vetilius himself was taken prisoner; and the man who captured him, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he was old and fat, and considering him worthless, killed him. Of the 10,000 Romans, 6000 with difficulty made their way to the city of Carpessus on the seashore, which I think was formerly called by the Greeks Tartessus, and was ruled by King Arganthonius, who is said to have lived an hundred and fifty years. The soldiers, who made their escape to Carpessus, were stationed on the walls of the town by the quaestor who accompanied Vetilius, badly demoralized. Having asked and obtained 5000 allies from the Belli and Titthi, he sent them against Viriathus, who slew them all, so that there was not one left to tell the tale. After that the quaestor remained quietly in the town waiting for help from Rome.

B.C. 146

64. Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania in security, and ravaged it until Caius

CAP. XI Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε δ' αὖθις ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὓς ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἔκτεινε χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὄρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβών, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχείμαζεν, οὐ θαρρῶν οὐδαμοῖ προϊέναι. ὁ δ' Οὐρίατθος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιιὼν ᾔτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

65. Ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἑαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον κατωρθωκότων, φειδοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας, οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἧκεν ἐς Ὄρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὔπω μάχης ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειεν, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλευομένων τισὶν ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς

He twice defeats Plautius

Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent about 4000 men to pursue him, but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed the crops.

B.C. 145

He is defeated by Maximus Aemilianus

65. When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army for himself. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He asked for additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon some of his wood-cutters, killed many, and

CAP. XI καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιπούς. τοῦ δ’ ὑποστρατήγου συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὅλῳ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἠκροβολίζετο, πεῖράν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους ἀεὶ τοῖς γυμνοῖς περιίστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ’ ἱππέων αὐτός, οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται δεύτερος ὅδε τὸν Οὐρίατθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτόν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διώκων ἔκτεινε πολλούς. καὶ ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε, διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοΐντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὔλου.

66. Ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν, Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλούς, ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πόλεμον ἄλλον οἵδε ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντῖνον ἡγοῦνται, μακρόν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον. καὶ συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἓν μετ’ Οὐρίατθον. Οὐρίατθος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἑτέρῳ

struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also and captured much booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his forces repeatedly and offered battle. Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, but he skirmished frequently with part of his forces, making trial of the enemy's strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry, as he had seen his father Paulus do, when serving with him in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman B.C. 144 general to put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, of which he plundered one and burned the other. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Baecor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba, this being already the second year of his command in this war. Having performed these labours, Aemilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus.

66. After this Viriathus, no longer despising the B.C. 143 enemy as he had before, detached the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war after one of their cities. I shall include this war also as a sequel to the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in the further part of Spain with Quintius, another

CAP. XI στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοϊντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἡσσώμενος ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοϊντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεῖά τινα ἥρπασε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκκῃ φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν χώραν ἐλῄζετο, Κοϊντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα Ἴβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

XII

CAP. XII 67. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοϊντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίψῃ τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἠπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἑξακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιόντα οἱ μετά τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἣν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας ὑπέστη τε γενναίως καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὡς δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφῖκτο, καὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὠχύρου μέγα, καὶ προεπεχείρει τῷ Οὐριάτθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἀτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τοῦτο ὁ

Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Venus mountain. From this he sallied, and slew about 1000 of Quintius' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Itucca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintius did not render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him.

CHAP. XI

XII

CHAP. XII

B.C. 142

War with Viriathus continued

67. At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the brother of Aemilianus, came to succeed Quintius in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Itucca with his army in divisions, Viriathus, at the head of 6000 troops, attacked him with loud shouts and barbaric clamour, his men wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus

CAP. XII Οὐρίατθος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τρισχιλίους τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τῷδε, ὀλίγων μόλις αὐτὸν ὑφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιός τε, ὁ Λαιλίου κηδεστής, λαμπρῶς ἠρίστευε, καὶ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν· ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρᾳ θαμινὰ ἐπιών, καὶ οὔ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν Σερουιλιανὸν ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.

68. Τότε δὲ ἤδη τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἳ τῷ Οὐριάτθῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστράτευεν ἐς Κουνέους, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσιτανοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὖθις ἠπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λῄσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τήν τε λείαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἷλεν Εἰσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐριάτθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν ἄλλαις· αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο. καὶ Κοννόβαν μέν τινα λῄσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβών, καὶ

observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also, where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Laelius, showed splendid bravery, and the Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make frequent incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Itucca.

68. Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Baeturia and plundered five towns which had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunei, and thence to Lusitania once more against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men, attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured their booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolcola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, he spared him alone, but cut off the hands of all of his men.

CAP. XII φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου, 69. τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίατθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἅμα ἕῳ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ῥίψαντες ἔφευγον. τήν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ, τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίατθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς κρημνούς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίατθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν· Οὐρίατθον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντας ἧς ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Οὐριάτθου πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαῦσθαι, χαλεπώτατός τε Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καταλυθείς. 70. οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ᾽ ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγκείμενα· ὁ γαρ ἀδελφὸς Σερουιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπίων, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν· ὡς δ᾽ αὖθις ἠνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἔκρινε λῦσαί τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὖθις Οὐριάτθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπίων Ἄρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐριάτθου παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίατθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπητανίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων.

69. While following Viriathus, he invested Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans against some cliffs, from whence there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an end by a conspicuous act of generosity, he made an agreement with them, which was ratified by the Roman people. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman nation, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been brought to an end by this act of generosity.

A treaty with Viriathus

B.C. 140

The treaty broken by the Roman

70. The peace however did not last, even for a short time, for Caepio, brother of Servilianus who had concluded it, being his successor in the command complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly, and, when he made further agitations, and continually sent letters, it decided to break off the treaty, and again declare open war against Viriathus. When war was definitely declared, Caepio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and overtook Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) in Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his.

CAP. XII ὅθεν ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μέν τινα φάραγγα ἀφανῆ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπιέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λοφου δόξαν παρεῖχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονότων, ἐξίππευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὀξέως οὕτως ὡς μηδ' αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεὶς τὰ ἐκείνων ἐδῄου.

71. Καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάτθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν λῃστήρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγνω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρᾶς, ὅσην ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὀξέως, οἷα δὴ λῃστήρια, μεθισταμένους δυσεργὲς ἡγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν· ἐς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐς ἑκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδῄου τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα, συμμαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναναιρουμένων, καὶ οὔ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεισῶν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη μεθ' ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων· καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένοις συνεγίγνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.

Viriathus, therefore, deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Caepio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields.

B.C. 138

S. Junius Brutus

71. Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Durius, and Baetis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while they moved swiftly from place to place as freebooters do, and yet disgraceful to fail in doing so, while it was no very glorious task even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With this design he began destroying everything that came in his way, the women fighting and perishing in company with the men, and dying without a cry. Some, however, of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, portioning out their goods.

CAP. XII 72. Καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντων ὅμηρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Λήθην μετῄει, πρῶτος ὅδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθών, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἁρπασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρους, οἵ εἰσιν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὡπλισμέναις καὶ οἵδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδείς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαίρουσαι τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἳ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βροῦτος κατεστρέφετο αὖθις.

73. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθών, ἣ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστᾶσα ἠνώχλει, παρακαλούντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλαβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτοὺς ἐς ὅ τι χρῄζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων ᾔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ ὅμηρα ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων ὁσάκις ἀποσταῖεν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινόν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἔληξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλη δημοσία παρασκευή,

CHAP XII

B.C. 137

72. He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and demanding many hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They are a very warlike people, and among them too the women bore arms with the men, who died with a will, not a man of them showing his back, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children also with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus at the time, but soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to subjection again.

Guerilla bands co-operate with Viriathus

73. One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled and gave him trouble was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants, as usual, begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed this order as well, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he let the matter end in reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general resources, he gave them back their

CAP. XII πάντα περιεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὖθις οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῄει. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν Οὐριάτθου γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου ζῆλον ὑπὸ λῃστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι.

74. Οὐρίατθος δὲ Καιπίωνι περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὔδακα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἳ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιπίωνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὧδε. ὀλιγοϋπνότατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα ἐξεγρόμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἕτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἐξῆν καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὔδακα φυλάξαντες αὐτόν, ἀρχομένου ὕπνου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς δή τινος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὡπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγήν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ' αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καιπίωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ᾔτουν. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν ᾔτουν, ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐριάτθου καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἔμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἔνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγή τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγούντων τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμου-

town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him.

B.C. 140

74. Viriathus sent his most trusted friends Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus to Caepio to negotiate terms of peace. The latter bribed them by large gifts and promises to assassinate Viriathus, which they did in this way. Viriathus, on account of his excessive cares and labours, slept but little, and for the most part took rest in his armour so that when aroused he might be at once prepared for every emergency. For this reason it was permitted to his friends to visit him by night. Taking advantage of this custom, those who were associated with Audax watched their opportunity and entered his tent on the pretext of business, just as he had fallen asleep, and killed him by stabbing him in the throat, which was the only part of his body not protected by armour. The blow was so sure that nobody discovered what had been done, and the murderers escaped to Caepio and asked for the rest of their pay. For the present he gave them permission to enjoy safely what they had already received: as for their demands, he referred them to Rome. When daylight came the attendants of Viriathus and the remainder of the army thought he was still resting and wondered at his unusually long repose, until some of them discovered that he was lying dead in his armour. Straightway there was wailing and lamentation throughout the camp, all of them mourning for him and fearing for their own safety, thinking what

Viriathus assassinated

CAP. XII μένων ἐν οἵοις εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἵου στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ηὕρισκον, ὑπερήλγυνεν.

75. Οὐρίατθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ἱερεῖά τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἴλας οἵ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν ἔνοπλοι βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῄνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ' αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὑτοῦ πόθον κατέλιπεν Οὐρίατθος, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ' ἐς ἅπαντα πρὸ ἁπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλούντων· ὃ δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδενί πω στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγὴς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἑλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἣν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ Τάνταλος αὑτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι

dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. And what pained them most of all was that they could not find the perpetrators of the crime.

75. They arrayed the body of Viriathus in splendid garments and burned it on a lofty funeral pile. Many sacrifices were offered for him. The infantry and cavalry ran in troops around him, in armour, singing his praises in barbarian fashion, and they all sat round the pyre until the fire had gone out. When the obsequies were ended, they had gladiatorial contests at his tomb. So great was the longing which Viriathus left behind him—a man who, for a barbarian, had the highest qualities of a commander, and was always foremost in facing danger and most exact in dividing the spoils. He never consented to take the lion's share, although always asked to do so, and even the share which he did receive he divided among the bravest. Thus it came about (a most difficult task and one never achieved easily by any commander) that in the eight years of this war, in an army composed of various tribes, there never was any sedition, and the soldiers were always obedient and ready for danger. After his death they chose a general named Tantalus and made an expedition against Saguntum, the city which Hannibal had overthrown and re-established and named New Carthage,[1] after his own country. When they had been repulsed from that place and were crossing the river Baetis, Caepio pressed them so hard that Tantalus became exhausted and surrendered himself and his army to Caepio on condition that they should be treated as subjects. The latter took from them all their arms and gave them

Character of Viriathus

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[1] See note on p. 157.

CAP. XII παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἱκανήν, ἵνα μὴ λῃστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.

XIII

CAP. XIII 76. Ἐπάνεισι δ᾽ ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οὓς Οὐρίατθος μὲν ἠρέθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, Καικίλιος δ᾽ αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουακοὺς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτων, Τερμεντία δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Νομαντία ἔτι ἔλειπον. ἦν δ᾽ ἡ Νομαντία ποταμοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὗλαί τε αὐτῇ πυκναὶ περιέκειντο, καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἣ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τοσοίδε ὄντες ὅμως ὑπ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἠνώχλησαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν Κοΐντῳ Πομπηίῳ [Αὔλῳ] διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντίᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύων ᾤχετό ποι, καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ἔκτειναν. ἐπανελθὼν οὖν παρέτασσεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ᾽ ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες, μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος . . .

sufficient land, so that they should not be driven to robbery by want. In this way the Viriathic war came to an end.

XIII

B.C. 143

The Numantine War

76. Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Caecilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army, and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them with alarming suddenness while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of the two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The men were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, although their numbers in all were only about 8000. Although so few, they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, all admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. He therefore returned and drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades.

Pompeius lays siege to Numantia

CAP. XIII 77. Καὶ καθ᾿ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ᾿ ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν ἑπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλίαρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτῃ πείρᾳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἔνοπλοι, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἠγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἤλασεν, ἣν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅμηρα αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἣν ἐδῄου λῄσταρχος ὄνομα Ταγγῖνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ᾿ ἦν φρονήματος ἐν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ᾿ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διετίτρων.

78. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμόν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχετεύοντας ἠνώχλουν. ἔβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἕως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἑτέροις ἐπι-

77. When he saw his forces defeated day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. B.C. 141 Here too he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedetania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away.

78. Pompeius, coming back to the siege of B.C. 140 Numantia, endeavoured to turn the course of a certain river into the plain in order to reduce the city by famine. But the inhabitants harassed him while he was doing his work. They rushed out in crowds without any trumpet signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and even hurled darts at those who came to their assistance

CAP. XIII δραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, Ὀππιόν τε χιλίαρχον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ σύμβουλοι παρῆσαν ἐκ Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις (ἓξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις) διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοί τε καὶ ἔτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἔκαμνον, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἔνιοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σῖτον οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἕως οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐπεξῄεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοῖς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἔκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς.

79. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τοσοῖσδε συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων ἀνεζεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἦρος προσδοκῶν ἥξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ δεδιὼς κατηγορίαν, ἔπρασσεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες ἤδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργίᾳ καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ

from the camp, and finally shut the Romans up in their own fortification. They also attacked some foragers and killed many of these also, and among them Oppius, a military tribune. They made an assault in another quarter on a party of Romans who were digging a ditch, and killed about 400 of them including their leader. After this certain counsellors came to Pompeius from Rome, together with an army of new recruits, still raw and undisciplined, to take the places of his soldiers, who had served six years. Pompeius, being ashamed of his disasters, and desiring to wipe out the disgrace, remained in camp in the winter time with these raw recruits. The soldiers, being exposed to severe cold without shelter, and unaccustomed to the water and climate of the country, fell sick with dysentery and some died. A detachment having gone out for forage, the Numantines laid an ambuscade quite near the Roman camp and provoked them with showers of missiles, until the Romans, losing patience, sallied out against them. Then those who were in ambush sprang up, and many officers and privates lost their lives. Finally the Numantines encountered the foraging party on its return and killed many of those also.

79. Pompeius, having met with so many misfortunes, marched away with his senatorial council to the towns to spend the rest of the winter, expecting a successor to come early in the spring. Fearing lest he should be called to account, he made overtures to the Numantines secretly for the purpose of bringing the war to an end. The Numantines on their side, being exhausted by the slaughter of many of their bravest men, by the loss

CAP. XIII παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι συνθήκας ἑτέρας Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας), λάθρᾳ δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἔμελλε ποιήσειν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὅμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ᾔτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ᾔτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὧν μέρος αὐτίκα ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνέμενεν, παραγενομένου δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Λαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν διάδοχον, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχράς τε καὶ ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, ἠρνεῖτο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἤλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπό τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ χιλιάρχοις αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Λούσονας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐργασάμενος (ἧκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὁστίλιος Μαγκῖνος) ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

80. Ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος τοῖς Νομαντίνοις συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶτό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι Νομαντίνοις ἔρχονται βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροί τε καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι, δείσας

of their crops, by want of food, and by the length of the war, which had been protracted beyond expectation, also sent legates to Pompeius. He publicly advised them to surrender at discretion, saying that he knew of no other terms worthy of the Roman people, but privately he promised them what he would do. When they agreed and surrendered unconditionally, he demanded and received from them hostages, together with the prisoners and deserters. He also demanded thirty talents of silver, a part of which they paid down, while he agreed to wait for the rest. His successor, Marcus Popillius Laena, had arrived when they brought the last instalment. Pompeius being no longer under any apprehension concerning the war, since his successor was present, and knowing that he had made a disgraceful peace and without authority from Rome, began to deny that he had come to any understanding with the Numantines. They proved the contrary by witnesses who had been present at the transaction, senators, and his own prefects of horse and military tribunes. Popillius sent them to Rome to carry on the controversy with Pompeius there. The case was brought before the Senate, and the Numantines and Pompeius contested it there. The Senate decided to continue the war. Thereupon Popillius attacked the Lusones who were neighbours of the Numantines, but having accomplished nothing (for his successor in office, Hostilius Mancinus, arrived) he returned to Rome.

He makes a treaty with the Numantines

B.C. 139

The Senate repudiates it

80. Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumour that the Cantabri and Vaccaei were

B.C. 137

CAP. XIII ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεὶς οὔτε κατεσκευασμένον οὔτε ὠχυρωμένον, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλούντων εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο εἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχίσταις πάνυ σπονδαῖς, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγκῖνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἕσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων· ὁ δὲ Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὅδε τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ θριάμβου φιλοτιμίαν ἐξῄεσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον), Οὐακκαίων κατεψεύδετο ὡς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἣ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὥς μοι προείρηται, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἔπεισεν.

81. Κατέλαβον δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννας τε καὶ Καικίλιος, οἳ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶνδε πταισμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἕτερον ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορεῦον Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἤδη

coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and spent the whole night in darkness, fleeing to a desert place where Nobilior once had his camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification, and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to do so on terms of equality between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. But when these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Aemilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. Numantine ambassadors followed him thither; but Aemilius, becoming tired of idleness while he too awaited the decision from Rome (for some men took the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honour of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccaei of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his kinsman by marriage, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking.

Mancinus makes a fresh treaty

81. Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Caecilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Aemilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccaei. But he, having actually begun the war, B.C. 136

CAP. XIII τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν ἡγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν Οὐακκαῖοι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβών, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὡς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγνυτο καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ' αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἐξεῖλεν Αἰμίλιος· καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύουσαν ὧδε περιέσωζε.

82. Μακρᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὔσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ἔφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησκον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δέ, Αἰμίλιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἡσσώμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναζευγνύναι· χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθέοντες ἐπέσπευδον ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο πρὸ ἕω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης καὶ

Aemilius Paulus makes war contrary to the orders of the Senate

thought that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was co-operating with him, and that the Vaccaei had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Further, he considered that to abandon the war would in itself be dangerous, and would practically involve the breaking away of all Spain, if the Spaniards despised the Romans for cowards. He therefore sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and wrote almost in the above words to the Senate. After this he began to construct engines and to collect provisions in a place which he fortified. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambuscade, but adroitly spread a rumour among his men that Aemilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

82. The siege of Pallantia being long protracted, the food supply of the Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Aemilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time, but being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left behind everything, and even the sick and wounded, who clung to them and besought them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and confused and much like a flight,

CAP. XIII φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἄσιτοι τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

83. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεζημιοῦτο· Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίηντο πρὸς Μαγκῖνον, ἐπεδείκνυον· ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγόν, ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ κἀκεῖνον ἡσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους· ὅθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ' ἐχαλέπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ' ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τῶνδε κριθεὶς καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκῖνον δ' ἔγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, ἄνευ σφῶν αἰσχρὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένον, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὅμοια χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκῖνον μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς Νομαντίνοις· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ' ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ἀλλ'

the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, hungry and exhausted, threw themselves on the ground in groups, wherever they were, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Aemilius.

83. When these things were known at Rome, Aemilius was deprived of his command and consulship, and when he returned to Rome as a private citizen he was fined besides. The dispute before the Senate between Mancinus and the Numantine ambassadors was still going on. The latter exhibited the treaty they had made with Mancinus; he, on the other hand, put the responsibility for the treaty on Pompeius, his predecessor in the command, who, he said, had handed over to him a lazy and ill-provided army, owing to which Pompeius himself had often been beaten, and so had made a similar treaty with the Numantines. Consequently the war had been waged under bad omens, for it had been decreed by the Romans in violation of these agreements. The senators were equally incensed against both, but Pompeius escaped on the ground that he had been tried for this offence long before. They decided, however, to deliver Mancinus to the Numantines for making a disgraceful treaty without their authorization. In this they followed the example of their fathers, who once delivered to the Samnites twenty generals who had made a similar treaty without authority. Mancinus was taken to Spain by Furius, and delivered naked to the Numantines, but they refused to receive him. Calpurnius Piso was chosen general against them, but he did not even

The Senate repudiates the treaty of Mancinus

B.C. 135

CAP. XIII ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλών, καὶ μικρὰ δῃώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

XIV

CAP. XIV 84. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ᾑροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἑλόντα αὖθις ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἔτι νεώτερος τῆς νενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας· ἡ οὖν βουλὴ πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὖθις θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο, στρατιὰν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθελοντὰς δέ τινας, ἔκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἰδίαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὓς ἐς ἴλην καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων ἴλην. πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφιδῷ Βουτέωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσει πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.

march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania.

CHAP. XIII

XIV

CHAP. XIV

B.C. 134

Scipio Africanus the Younger sent against the Numantines

84. The Roman people being tired of this Numantine war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when this same Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reenact it the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army from the active-service-list, because many wars were being waged at the time, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain; but with the Senate's consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends, whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he himself went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline.

CAP. XIV 85. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ μάντεις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερεῖον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθῆναι. καὶ σκεῦος οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐς δίαιταν ἔχειν οὐδενὶ πλὴν ὀβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματος ἑνός. τά τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὥριστο κρέα ζεστὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπεῖπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ὁδεύοντας ἡμιόνοις ἐπικαθέζεσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾶν ἔφη παρ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἀν τοῖς ἀλείμμασι καὶ λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἤλειφον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὡς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρήζουσι τριβόντων. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀθρόως, εἴθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὢν καὶ δυσχερὴς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθῆ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἕτοιμα.

86. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὣς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιιών, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας,

CHAP. XIV

He restores discipline in the army

85. When he arrived he expelled all traders and harlots; also the soothsayers and diviners, whom the soldiers were continually consulting because they were demoralized by defeat. For the future he forbade the bringing in of anything not necessary, even a victim for purposes of divination. He also ordered all wagons and their superfluous contents to be sold, and all pack animals, except such as he himself permitted to remain. For cooking utensils it was only permitted to have a spit, a brass kettle, and one cup. Their food was limited to plain boiled and roasted meats. They were forbidden to have beds, and Scipio was the first to sleep on straw. He forbade them to ride on mules when on the march; "for what can you expect in a war," said he, "from a man who is not even able to walk?" They had to bathe and anoint themselves without assistance, Scipio saying sarcastically that only mules, having no hands, needed others to rub them. Thus in a short time he brought them back to good order. He accustomed them also to respect and fear him by being difficult of access and sparing of favours, especially favours contrary to regulations. He often said that those generals who were severe and strict in the observance of law were serviceable to their own men, while those who were easy-going and bountiful were useful only to the enemy. The soldiers of the latter, he said, were joyous but insubordinate, while those of the former although downcast, were obedient and ready for all emergencies.

His maxims of war

86. In spite of all this he did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the

CAP. XIV ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἤγειρέ τε καὶ καθῄρει, καὶ τάφρους ὤρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα ᾠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐς ἑσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα μή τις ὡς πάλαι διασκιδνῷτο, ἦγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεί, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἑκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι. περιιὼν τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἱππέων ἑτέραν ἴλην περιτρέχειν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διῄρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

87. Ὅτε δ' εἴκασεν ὀξὺ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφυλακὰς δέ, ὥσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διῄρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ' ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι περισκοπῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὁρμήν, ἐς ὅ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἐχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἔκειρεν ἔτι χλωρόν. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα

neighbouring plains and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of oblongs, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he pitched camp he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy after the march around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed and mapped out the time within which these tasks must be finished.

87. When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labour, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, nor, in fact, did he divide his army in any way, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who already despised the Romans. Nor did he attack the enemy, because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching the opportunities which it offered, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the still unripe grain.

CAP. XIV ἐξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων· "οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανίασιν ὡς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἁμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερής τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἀγών· ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδές." εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελῆ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῄει τότε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τὰς τροφὰς ἐωνοῦντο, κείρων ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.

88. Ἐν δέ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντιας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἔκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἠνώχλουν. ὁ δὲ Ῥουτίλιον Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἴλας λαβόντα ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ῥοῦφος

When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, many advised him to take a short cut, which led past Numantia to the plains. "But," he said, "what I fear is the coming back, when the enemy will be unencumbered, and will have their town to start from and retreat to, while our troops will return from their foraging laden and tired, bringing with them animals and wagons and burdens. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. He himself joined the excursion beyond the camp, and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccaei, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it.

88. In a certain plain in the Pallantian territory called Complanium the Pallantians had concealed a large force just below the brow of a hill, while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives.

He skirmishes with the Numantines

CAP. XIV μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἵπετο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπήδα, ἔνθα τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππέας μήτε διώκειν μήτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ δόρατα θεμένους ἑστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἵπετο κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ ὡς ηὗρε τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἑκατέροις παρὰ μέρος ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προστιθέντας ὀπίσω καὶ ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας ἐς τὸ πεδίον περιέσωσεν· ἀναζευγνύοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορός τε καὶ ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων διὰ τὸ δίψος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσων, ὧν τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ ηὑρίσκετο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δέ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.

89. Καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρεσπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Νομαντίνην χειμάσων, ἔνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρθας ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ Μασσανάσσου υἱωνός, ἄγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομένους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας. ἀεὶ δέ τι δῃῶν, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἔλαθε περὶ

When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Directly Scipio saw Rufus running up the hill, contrary to his orders, he was alarmed and followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies, and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford and muddy, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer and less exposed to ambushes. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst.

89. While passing through the territory of the Caucaei, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him from Africa with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighbouring country, the enemy

CAP. XIV κώμην ἐνεδρευθείς, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα πηλοῦ περιεῖχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διῃρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κώμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ σημεῖα ἔξω καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιίππευον οὐ πολλοί. τούτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἔτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κώμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἑστώς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους, τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κώμης ἐκδραμόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.

XV

CAP. XV 90. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας δύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαντίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ὑπερεώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἑλεῖν λιμῷ. φρούρια δ' ἑπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν . . . ἐπιγράψας ἑκάστοις οὓς ἔδει πέμπειν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθον, ἐς μέρη

CHAP. XIV

laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards outside, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who tried to beat them off. Scipio, who happened to be standing in the front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. And when the greater part of those who were in the village had run out, he put the enemy to flight. He did not pursue the fugitives, however, but returned to the camp, a few having fallen on either side.

XV

CHAP. XV

B.C. 133

90. Not long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one, while he himself commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven forts around the city, he <began> the siege and wrote letters to each of the <allied tribes>, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided

Scipio builds a wall round the city

CAP. XV πολλὰ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐπιδιεῖλεν· εἶθ᾿ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τοῦτο διῄρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἕκαστον. καὶ προείρητο, εἴ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημεῖον ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ὑψηλοῦ, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες αὐτός τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὡς δ᾿ ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἑτέραν τάφρον ὤρυσσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα χωρὶς τῶν ἐπάλξεων. πύργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτειχίσαι, χῶμα αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἴσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, ὡς ἂν εἴη καὶ τόδε ἀντὶ τείχους.

91. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅδε πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιετείχισε πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν· τόν τε Δόριον ποταμόν, συμφερόμενον τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρήσιμον ἔς τε ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ᾿ αὐτὸν κολυμβηταί τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάνθανον, ἢ ἱστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κώπαις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, ζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάνυ ῥοώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεὶς ἀπήρτησε καλῳδίοις δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐξ ἑκατέρου

them into several parts, and also subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should harass them anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he and Maximus might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades, and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

He stops communication by the river

91. Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. The river Durius, which took its course along the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving or concealing themselves in small boats, some breaking through with sailing-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built a tower on each side in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them

CAP. XV φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγότα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὔτε διανηχομένους οὔτ' ἐπιπλέοντας οὔτε ὑποδύνοντας εἴων λαθεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὗ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμιγνυμένου μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι γίγνοιτο ἔξω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

92. Ὡς δ' ἡτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλοι, ταῖς δ' ἐπάλξεσι παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πᾶν, οἳ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔμελλον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι μηνύσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα, κατὰ δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὔσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, εἴ πῃ δεήσειε, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἔμελλον, ὅτε χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτοις ἐφεδρεύειν ἕτεροι μύριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἑκάστοις

floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, and were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired, namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind.

Numantia closely invested

92. When everything was ready and the catapults, ballistae, and other engines were placed on the towers, the stones, darts, and javelins collected on the parapets, and the archers and slingers in their places at the forts, he stationed messengers at frequent intervals along the entire wall to pass the word from one to another by day and night to let him know what was taking place. He gave orders to each tower that in any emergency the one that was first attacked should hoist a signal and that the others when they saw it should do the same, in order that he might be advised of the commotion quickly by signal, and learn the particulars afterwards by messengers. The army, together with the native forces, now numbering some 60,000 men, he arranged so that one-half should guard the wall and in case of necessity go to any place where they should be wanted; 20,000 were to fight from the top of the wall when necessary, and the remaining 10,000 were kept in reserve. These too had their several places assigned to them, and it was not permitted to change without orders. Each man was to

CAP. XV διετέτακτο· καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξῆν. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθείη.

Οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο· 93. οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ κατὰ μέρη, ταχεῖα δ' αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἡ ὄψις ἦν, σημείων τε ὑψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων, καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδώντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἐξοτρυνόντων, ὥστε τὸν κύκλον ὅλον εὐθὺς ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερώτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιπίων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήει.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἔτι προσιούσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας· 94. Ῥητογένης δέ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντῖνος, ᾧ Καραύνιος ἐπίκλησις ἦν, ἄριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεῖ διῆλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτήν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, δεόμενοι Νομαντίνοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ἦν εὐδαίμων, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων,

spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio.

93. The Numantines made several attacks here and there upon those guarding the walls. Swift and terrible was the appearance of the defenders, the signals being everywhere hoisted, the messengers running to and fro, those who manned the walls springing to their places in crowds, and the trumpets sounding on every tower, so that the whole circuit of fifty stades at once presented to all beholders a most formidable aspect. This circuit Scipio traversed each day and night for the purpose of inspection. He was convinced that the enemy thus enclosed, and unable to obtain food, arms or succour from without, could not hold out very long.

The exploits of Rhetogenes

94. But Rhetogenes, surnamed Caraunius, the bravest of all the Numantines, induced five of his friends to take an equal number of servants and horses, and cross the space between the two armies secretly, on a cloudy night, carrying a folding scaling-bridge. Arriving at the wall he and his friends sprang upon it, slew the guards on either side, sent back the servants, drew the horses up the bridge, and rode off to the towns of the Arevaci, bearing olive branches and entreating them, as blood relations, to help the Numantines. But some of the Arevaci, fearing the Romans, would not even listen to them, but sent them away immediately. There was a rich town named Lutia, distant 300 stades from Numantia, whose young

CAP. XV ἧς οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντινους ἐσπουδάκεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνῆγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὀγδόης ὥρας πυθόμενος ἐξήλαυνεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐζώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ τὴν Λουτίαν φρουρᾷ περιλαβὼν ᾔτει τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δείσαντες προσῆγον αὐτούς, ἐς τετρακοσίους γενομένους· ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὖθις ἅμ' ἕῳ τῆς ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

95. Νομαντῖνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε ἄνδρας ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἴρητο μαθεῖν εἰ μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὐτούς. Αὔαρος δ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ἁμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε κακοῦ. "διὸ καὶ μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σέ, τοσῆσδε ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, φείσασθαι γένους εὐψύχου τε καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιλανθρωπότερα τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἄρτι πειρώμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί, τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρια κελεύοις, ἢ μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι." ὁ μὲν Αὔαρος ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ᾔσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἔνδον) ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ κατὰ

men sympathised with the Numantines and urged their city to send them aid. The older citizens secretly communicated this fact to Scipio. Receiving this intelligence about the eighth hour, he marched thither at once with as many light-armed troops as possible. Surrounding the place about daylight, he demanded that the leaders of the young men should be delivered up to him. When the citizens replied that they had fled from the place, he sent a herald to tell them that if these men were not surrendered to him he would sack the city. Being terrified by this threat, they delivered them up, in number about 400. Scipio cut off their hands, withdrew his force, rode away, and was back in his camp at dawn the next day.

Negotiations with Scipio

95. The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the policy and bravery of the Numantines, and added that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Therefore above all, Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and manly race and to extend to us, as a choice between evils, the humaner terms, terms which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests now not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city by offering us fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must

CAP. XV σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὧν ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὀργὴν ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀηθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠγριωμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διῳκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

96. Μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μέν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἕψοντες ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἕψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις τῶν νοσούντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἠγριωμένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθηριωμένοις δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες αὑτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἔνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἕτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ' ὑπερεβάλοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὑτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἡμέραν ᾔτουν ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.

97. Τοσόσδε ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γὰρ

surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings and thinking that perhaps they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio.

96. Soon after this, all their eatables being consumed, having neither grain, nor flocks, nor grass, they began, as people are sometimes forced to do in war, to lick boiled hides. When these also failed, they boiled and ate the bodies of human beings, first of those who had died a natural death, chopping them in small bits for cooking. Afterwards being nauseated by the flesh of the sick, the stronger laid violent hands upon the weaker. No form of misery was absent. They were rendered savage in mind by their food, and their bodies were reduced to the semblance of wild beasts by famine, plague, long hair, and neglect. In this condition they surrendered themselves to Scipio. He commanded them the same day to bring their arms to a place designated by him, and on the following day to assemble at another place. But they put off the day, declaring that many of them still clung to liberty and desired to take their own lives. Wherefore they asked for a day to arrange for death.

Numantia surrenders

97. Such was the love of liberty and of valour which existed in this small barbarian town. With

Heroism of the Numantines

CAP. XV ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ' εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οἷα μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οἵας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑποστάντων, οἷον δ' ὄντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἓξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προυκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικώτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἰὼν θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναί τε δυνατὸν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἔργα πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν· οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὑτούς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρῶντο, ἕτερος ἑτέρως· οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξῄεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χωρίον, δυσόρατοί τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὀφθῆναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπου μεστά, ὠδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθὴς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἥδε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε, φοβεροὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἔκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

98. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἑλὼν στρατηγὸς ὅδε Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων

only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! What treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had invested them with an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured.

Reflecting upon their small numbers and their endurance, their valiant deeds and the long time for which they held out, it has occurred to me to narrate these particulars of the Numantine history. First of all, those who wished to do so killed themselves, in various ways. Then the rest went out on the third day to the appointed place, a strange and shocking spectacle. Their bodies were foul, their hair and nails long, and they were smeared with dirt. They smelt most horribly, and the clothes they wore were likewise squalid and emitted an equally foul odour. For these reasons they appeared pitiable to their enemies, but at the same time there was something fearful in the expression of their eyes—an expression of anger, pain, weariness, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh.

98. Having chosen fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities,—Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness as a city and as an imperial power,

CAP. XV διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὔπω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτός, εἴτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἄκρος ὢν ὀργὴν καὶ φιλόνεικος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἴθ᾽ ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοῖς· καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανόν τε καὶ Νομαντῖνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὕποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

XVI

CAP. XVI 99. Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἔπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ᾑρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Γάλβας, Κίμβρων δ᾽ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμουμένης τὸν δεύτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἔπεμπον ὑπ᾽ ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἳ τὸν πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὅπῃ δύναιντο καταθήσεσθαι. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν

and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, on his own responsibility, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed it either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was a man of passionate nature and vindictive towards captives, or, some hold, because he thought that great calamities are the foundation of great glory. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbours and transacted certain business in the other cities, censuring or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home.

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Late history

99. The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates to settle the war as best they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed B.C. 112

CAP. XVI ἔκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους, Τερμησὸν δέ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπειθῆ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην, ἐξ ἐρυμνοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἑαυτήν, καὶ τοὺς Κολενδέας ἅπαντας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπέδοτο.

100. Πόλιν δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον ᾤκουν μιγάδες Κελτιβήρων, οὓς Μᾶρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης, ᾠκίκει πρὸ πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐλῄστευον δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι· καὶ κρίνας αὐτοὺς ὁ Δείδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἔτι παρόντων, ἔφη τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέων χώραν αὐτοῖς προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζομένους δὲ ὁρῶν ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἥκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριουμένους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐνεδρευομένους ἔσω παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραψόμενος αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοίη πόσην χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δείδιος ἔκτεινε πάντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Δείδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἔκτεινε δισμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγήδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὁρμῶν τὴν βουλὴν

Termes, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from its strong position into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it eight months after he had invested it, and sold all the inhabitants with their wives and children.

B.C. 98

Infamous behaviour of Didius

100. There was another city near Colenda inhabited by mixed tribes of Celtiberians who had been the allies of Marcus Marius in a war against the Lusitanians, and whom he had settled there five years before with the approval of the Senate. They were living by robbery on account of their poverty. Didius, with the concurrence of the ten legates who were still present, resolved to destroy them. Accordingly, he told their principal men that he would allot the land of Colenda to them because they were poor. Finding them very much pleased with this offer, he told them to communicate it to the people, and to come with their wives and children to the parcelling out of the land. When they had done so he ordered his soldiers to vacate their camp, and these people, whom he wanted to ensnare, to go inside, so that he might make a list of their names within, the men on one register and the women and children on another, in order to know how much land should be set apart for them. When they had gone inside the ditch and palisade, Didius surrounded them with his army and killed them all, and for this he was actually honoured with a triumph. At a later period, the Celtiberians having revolted again, Flaccus was sent against them and slew 20,000. The people of the town of Belgida were eager for revolt, and when their senate hesitated they set fire to the senate-house and burned the senators. When

CAP. XVI ὀκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς αἰτίους.

101. Τοσάδε μὲν ηὗρον ἄξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε πρὸς Ἴβηρας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίννα, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διῃρημένων, Κόιντος Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τἆλλα ὢν ἐς θρασύτητα περιώνυμος, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἑλέσθαι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρατηγούς, Καικίλιόν τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, ἵνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, ἐξωθοῖεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὔσης. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασιωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Περπέρναν δ' ἔκτεινε μάχῃ Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

102. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἱρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν. καί τινα αὖθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούιος

Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death.

101. These are the events which I have found most worthy of mention in the relations of the Romans with the Spaniards as a nation until that time. At a later period, when the dissensions of Sulla and Cinna arose in Rome, and the country was divided by civil wars into hostile camps, Quintus Sertorius, one of Cinna's party, who had been chosen to the command in Spain, stirred up that country against the Romans. He raised a large army, created a senate of his own friends after the manner of the Roman Senate, and marched towards Rome full of confidence and high courage, for he had been renowned for daring elsewhere. The Senate in great alarm sent against him their most famous generals, first Caecilius Metellus with a large army, and then Gnaeus Pompeius with another army, in order to repel in any way possible this war from Italy, which was terribly distracted with civil strife. But Sertorius was murdered by Perpenna, one of his own partisans, who proclaimed himself general of the faction in place of Sertorius. Pompey slew Perpenna in battle, and so this war, which had greatly alarmed the Romans, came to an end; but I shall speak of this more particularly in my account of the civil wars of Sulla.

B.C. 82

Sertorius in Spain

B.C. 72

102. After the death of Sulla, Gaius Caesar was sent as praetor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he brought under subjection by force of arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son

B.C. 61

CAP. XVI Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλην, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἱσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἡ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.

Octavius Caesar, surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a governor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate,[1] and the third by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure. CHAP. XVI B.C. 25

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[1] Appian is in error here. Two were imperial, one senatorial.

BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

Η′

ΑΝΝΙΒΑΙΚΗ

I

CAP. I 1. Ὅσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλών, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε πολεμῶν, ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἕως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοί τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδήλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

2. Ἀμίλχαρ ᾧ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησις ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατήρ, ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιὼς ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῷδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ

BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

I

CHAP. I

1. WHAT Hannibal the Carthaginian did to, and suffered from, the Romans during the sixteen years that he persisted in war against them, from his first march from Spain to Italy until he was recalled by the Carthaginians (their own city being in danger), and driven out by the Romans, this book will show. What Hannibal's real reasons for that invasion were, as well as his public pretext, have been very clearly set forth in my Spanish history, yet I shall mention them here by way of reminder.

Hamilcar Barca

2. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for the possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before the time of rendering his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favour of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From

CAP. I διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαροῦς ἔργου. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν· καὶ τόδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἔν τινι μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται, ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκᾳ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνῃρήκει.

3. Τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβήρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὅδε, Βάρκα μὲν υἱὸς ὤν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τάδε συγγράφω, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἴβηρσι· τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε καταφρονούντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς

thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favour of the multitude, so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory he acquired a great reputation, and the Carthaginians were filled with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, thinking that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they should not cross the river Ebro, and a clause to this effect was inserted in the treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death.

B.C. 220
Hannibal in Spain

3. After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal's wife, a very young man whose early years had naturally been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. But the enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage persecuted the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth, and he, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country's fears, began

CAP. I μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιόν τε Καρχηδονίοις ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι πταίσας, τό γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παῖς ὁρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζέ τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἡβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέλυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

4. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ· ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδοὺς Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐνακισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενος, τοὺς δὲ πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδευε τὴν χώραν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, καὶ μηδεμίαν μήτε δίοδον μήτε ἄνοδον εὑρών (ἀπόκρημνα γάρ ἐστιν ἰσχυρῶς), ἐπέβαινε κἀκείνοις ὑπὸ τόλ-

to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and Carthaginians, once begun, would last a long time, and that the undertaking in itself would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross the Ebro in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext, he procured certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by also accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Ebro and destroyed the city of Saguntum with all the inhabitants of military age. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken. B.C. 219

4. What Hannibal himself and what the other Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, about 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road through or over them (for they are exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless boldly began to climb them, suffering greatly B.C. 218

Hannibal marches over the Alps

CAP. I μης, κακοπαθῶν χιονος τε πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ κρύους, τὴν μὲν ὕλην τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν δὲ τέφραν σβεννὺς ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦδε ψαφαρὰν γιγνομένην σφύραις σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδὸν ποιῶν ἣ καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐντριβὴς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου. τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπουσῶν ἠπείγετο μέν, ἔτι λανθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἕκτῳ δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἀναστάσεως μηνί, πλείστους ἀποβαλών, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέβαινε.

II

CAP. II 5. Καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασίᾳ, πόλει Κελτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξελών, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαξεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἠριδανὸν τὸν νῦν Πάδον λεγόμενον ἐλθών, ἔνθα Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τοῖς καλουμένοις Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δ' ὕπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπύθετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὅδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι καταλιπὼν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ὅθεν ὁδεύων τε καὶ συμμάχους ὅσους δύναιτο ἀγείρων ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον Ἀννίβαν. καὶ Μάλλιον μὲν καὶ Ἀτίλιον, οἳ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἔτι στρατηγεῖν ὑπάτου παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς

CHAP. I

from the cold and the deep snow. He cut down and burned wood, quenching the ashes with water and vinegar. Having thus rendered the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance even after he had actually arrived in Italy. With great difficulty, six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses, he descended from the mountains to the plain.

II

CHAP. II

Battle of Ticinus

5. After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Po, where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he, like Hannibal, left his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence, and collecting as many allies as possible, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, on the ground that they had no right to command when a consul was present, and taking their forces drew them up for battle

CAP. II μάχην ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ζεύξας ἐπέρα, (6) τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἄμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ χρώμενον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ δι' ἄμφω δυναμένοις ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιιόντα τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτην ὁρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρώνιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὢν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἅπαντες ἐς μάχην ἥξειν. ποταμὸς δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἕω, χειμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὔσης καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆγεν.

7. Παράταξις δ' ἦν ἑκατέρων . . . τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλέφαντας,

with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. Night coming on, they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po by bridges which they afterwards demolished. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river.

6. This exploit, following almost immediately on the passage of the Alps, at once exalted Hannibal's fame among the Cisalpine Gauls as an invincible commander and one most signally favoured by fortune. Moreover, being surrounded by men who were doubly easy to dupe, being barbarians and also filled with awe of him, he frequently changed his clothes and his hair, continually devising new fashions. When the Gauls saw him moving among their people now an old man, then a young man, and again a middle-aged man, and continually changing from one to the other, they were astonished and thought that he partook of the divine nature.

Sempronius, the other consul, being then in Sicily and learning what had happened, embarked his forces, came to Scipio's aid, and encamped at a distance of forty stades from him. They were all to join battle on the following day. The river Trebia separated the hostile armies, which the Romans crossed before daylight on a raw, sleety morning of the spring equinox, wading in the water up to their breasts. Hannibal allowed his army to rest on till the second hour and then marched out.

Battle of Trebia

7. The order of battle on each side was <as follows. The Roman cavalry> were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot-

CAP. II τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζούς· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἕως αὐτός τι σημήνῃ. γενομένων δ’ ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὀδμήν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καίπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τόλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπήδων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλινον ἤδη. θεασάμενος δ’ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐσκεδασμένων δ’ ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἅτε πεζούς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν χιόνα τήξαντος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὅπλα ἐδύναντο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑπόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τρωθεὶς διαφθαρῆναι, μόλις δ’ ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντίᾳ, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδον.

8. Οἱ δ’ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδον (ἥττηντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ Ἀννίβου), στρατιάν τε παρ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὡς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς

soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans, terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy's infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to outflank the enemy. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many were cut off by the enemy's horse, who naturally overtook foot-soldiers, and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armour. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia to which Hannibal laid siege, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po.

8. When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen

CAP. II συμμάχοις ἑτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σαρδόνα κἀκείνην πολεμουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δ' ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρώνιον αἱρεθέντες ὕπατοι, Σερουίλιός τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὧν ὁ μὲν Σερουίλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος (ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἱρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσε), Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἱππεῦσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἣν καὶ μόνην ἄν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννῖνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μέν ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτήν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδίωκε μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἠθῶν τῶν ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι· καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἔτι νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικήν.

9. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὁμοῦ διῄρηντο· Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τῷ ἦρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδῄου τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνυ ἔδεισαν, οὐ

legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also), and some to Sicily. The greater part B.C. 217 were dispatched against Hannibal under Cn. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po, where he received the command from Scipio, and the latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

9. Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced towards the neighbourhood of Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no

CAP. II παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστράτευον δὲ ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήνιον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησάν τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἐς τὴν Πλειστινην λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ᾗ συντομώτατόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὀξέως, οὐ διαναπαύων τὴν στρατιάν. δέει τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἀπειροπόλεμός τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ δημοκοπίας ᾑρημένος, ἠπείγετο Ἀννίβᾳ συμπλεκῆναι.

10. Ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὁρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὄρος μέν τι καὶ λίμνην προυβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἅμα ἕῳ σμικρὸν μέν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ χαρακοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὔους ὄντας ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ᾽ ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτός τε ἀνῃρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δισμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἔς τινα κώμην ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἀξιῶν ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὅπῃ

force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, they enrolled an army of 8000 out of those who were left, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius also, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal's movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had won his way to office by demagogue's tricks), he hastened to engage with Hannibal.

Battle of Lake Thrasimenus

10. The latter, well aware of his eagerness and inexperience, adopted a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenus] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy's camp in the early morning, delayed a little, to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labour. When the ambush revealed itself, he was caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy, and was killed, with 20,000 of his men. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal's lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased.

CAP. II θέλοιεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνούς. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, εἶχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἤδη τῶν γιγνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδον στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου, καὶ τετρακισμυρίοις ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἤδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

11. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τήν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐξήταζεν εἴ τις εἴη περίοδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δι᾽ αὐτῶν ὅμως ἔπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νύκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιιέναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ᾽ ὅτε δύναιντο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστώτων ἑκατέρων, πάνυ προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν ὤφθη τε καὶ ἠλάλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ᾽ ἐλήφθησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τό τε τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὥπλιζον, ὅπλων μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν

When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. But he kept all the Romans prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. Servilius, the general on the Po, had already heard what had happened, and was hastening to Etruria with 40,000 men, while Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned.

Hannibal destroys the detachment of Centenius

11. When Hannibal saw the Plestine marsh and the mountain overhanging it, and Centenius between him and them commanding the passage, he inquired of the guides whether there was any way round. When they said there was no path, but that the whole region was rugged and precipitous, he nevertheless sent the light-armed troops, under the command of Maharbal, to explore the district and pass around the mountain by night. When he judged that they had had time to reach their destination he attacked Centenius in front. While the engagement was in progress, Maharbal was seen pushing forward strenuously on the summit above, where he raised a shout. The Romans thus surrounded at once took to flight, and there was a great slaughter among them, 3000 being killed and 800 taken prisoners. The remainder escaped with difficulty. When this news reached the city they feared lest Hannibal should march against them at once. They collected stones upon the walls, and armed the old men. Being in

CAP. II ἱερῶν καταφέροντες, ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο· δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἵλοντο Μάξιμον.

III

CAP. III 12. Ἀννίβας δέ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αὖθις ἐτράπη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σερουίλιος δ' ὕπατος ἀντιπαριὼν αὐτῷ κατῆρεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν· ἔνθα τὴν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἕως ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ᾑρημένου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ᾔει, πολλάκις ἐκείνου προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ' οὐδένα εἴα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικείμενος. ὁ δέ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὖθις περιιὼν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ῥούφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοίη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινούκιος ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ δόξας πλέον ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέ-

want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus.

CHAP. II

Fabius Maximus chosen dictator

III

CHAP. III

12. But divine Providence turned Hannibal away toward the Adriatic again, where he ravaged the sea-coast as he went and gathered much plunder. The consul Servilius, marching parallel with him, came to Ariminum, being distant from Hannibal by one day's march. He retained his army there and tried to hearten those Gauls who were still friendly to Rome. When Fabius Maximus, the dictator, arrived, he sent Servilius to Rome, for he was no longer either consul or general after a dictator had been chosen. Fabius followed Hannibal closely, but did not come to an engagement with him, although often challenged. He kept careful watch on his enemy's movements, and lay near him and prevented him from besieging any town. After the country was exhausted Hannibal began to be short of provisions. So he traversed it again, drawing his army up each day and offering battle. But Fabius would not come to an engagement, although his master of horse, Minucius Rufus, disapproved of his policy, and wrote to his friends in Rome that Fabius held back on account of cowardice. When, however, Fabius had occasion to hurry to Rome to perform certain sacrifices, the command of the army fell to Minucius, and he had a sort of fight with Hannibal, and as he thought he had the best of it he wrote more boldly to the

Policy of Fabius Maximus

CAP. III στελλε τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αἰτιώμενος οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νικῆσαι. καὶ ἡ βουλή, ἐπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη τοῦ Φαβίου, ἴσον ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἑκάτερος εἴχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχῃ διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ' Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμηνίσας τῆς διαβολῆς· ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὢν εὐχερὴς οὐδ' οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὖθις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντί, τοῖς δ' ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

14. Στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ᾔσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν

Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him.

13. They accordingly divided the army and encamped near each other; and each held to his own opinion, Fabius seeking to wear out Hannibal by delay and meanwhile to receive no damage from him, while Minucius was eager for a decisive fight. Shortly afterward Minucius joined battle, and Fabius meanwhile, foreseeing what would happen, drew up his own forces without moving. In this way he was enabled to receive Minucius when he was beaten, and to drive Hannibal's men back from the pursuit. Thus did Fabius alleviate Minucius' disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognising his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time to fight against a consummate military genius is when necessity compels. This maxim, at a later time, was often remembered by Augustus, who was slow to fight and preferred to win by art rather than by valour. Fabius continued to watch Hannibal as before and prevented him from ravaging the country, not coming to an engagement with his whole army, but merely cutting off stragglers, well knowing that Hannibal would soon be short of supplies.

Rashness of Minucius Rufus

14. They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was ignorant, but Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, while he himself encamped with the rest of his forces on a strong hill on the other side of Hannibal. When Hannibal

Hannibal caught in a trap

CAP. III μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε μὲν ὡς οὔ ποτε πρότερον· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ' ἤλπιζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὧδε δ' ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτερίσειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾷδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δᾷδας ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἔσβεσε, καὶ σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ' εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἃ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ' ὑπό τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀφειδῶς καὶ βιαίως, εἶτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπήδων.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἴκαζεν εἶναί τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενος· οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὡς ἐκεῖ ληψόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς

discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but he was surrounded by insurmountable precipices; nor could he hope to overcome Fabius, or those defending the pass, on account of the strength of their position. In this desperate situation he put to death his prisoners, who numbered about 5000, lest they should turn upon him in the hour of danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle quickly up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran recklessly and furiously up the mountain side, falling down, and springing to their feet again.

15. The Romans on either side, when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened away to the place where they saw the lights, thinking that there they would catch Hannibal in difficulties. But he, when he saw them coming down from the pass, made for it

CAP. III αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἄνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνάμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ᾔσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτός τε περιῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειχθείς, ἣ σίτου πλήρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχείμαζεν.

16. Ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἵπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὔφιδον. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἓξ μηνῶν ἐφ' οὓς αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι Σερουίλιός τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπανῄεσαν, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῄει, γίγνονται δέ τινες ἐν τῷδε τῷ χειμῶνι Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα Καρχηδονίοις ὑπερεπαίρων, τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν ᾔτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώπτοντες τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικώντων οὐκ αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοίη, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς

with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately lighted a fire. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived, but the remainder of Hannibal's army and those who drove the cattle advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal beyond expectation rescue himself and his army from danger. Thence he advanced hastily to Geronia, a city of Iapygia, which was well stored with provisions, captured the town, and wintered there in safety and abundance.

He escapes from Fabius

16. Fabius, still pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. But the six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans having now expired, the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their office and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans, in which the latter were generally successful, and showed greater courage. Hannibal, although in his despatches to the Carthaginians he invariably exaggerated his achievements, now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who jeered at all his doings, now too replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it

The Carthaginians refuse to send reinforcements to Hannibal

CAP. III οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταῦτ᾽ ὀδυρόμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ᾽ ὅσης δύναιτο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δῃῷτο πᾶσα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν.

17. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἥττης τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἀθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες ἔνδον ὄντα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἱροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκοπίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχνούμενον. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες ἐξιόντας ἐδέοντο κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δῃουμένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίους ἱππέας δ᾽ ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κώμῃ τινὶ καλουμένῃ Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὔ ποτε φέρων ἀργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούσης ἐξέτασσε συνεχῶς

home to their own people. The Carthaginians followed their suggestion and sent neither soldiers nor money. Hannibal, lamenting this, wrote to his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, asking him to make an incursion into Italy at the beginning of summer with what men and money he could raise, and ravage the other extremity so that the whole country might be wasted at once and the Romans exhausted by the double encounter.

B.C. 216

The new Consuls

17. Such was the situation of Hannibal's affairs. The Romans, however, distressed by the magnitude of the disasters to Flaminius and Centenius, and considering such a succession of surprising defeats unworthy of their dignity, and that a war within their own territory was in itself intolerable, were furious against Hannibal, and levied four new legions in the city to serve against him, and hurried the allied forces from all quarters to Iapygia. As consuls they chose Lucius Aemilius, who had acquired military fame in the war against the Illyrians, and Terentius Varro, a demagogue who had won popular favour by the usual high-sounding promises. When they sent the consuls forward they begged them as they were leaving the city to end the war by battle, and not to exhaust the city by delay, by continued service, by taxes, and by hunger and idleness due to the devastation of the fields. The consuls on taking command of the army in Apulia had altogether 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, and they encamped near a village called Cannae. Hannibal encamped opposite them. He was by nature ready to fight and ever impatient of idleness, but now more so than ever because he was troubled by lack of supplies, for which reason he continually offered battle. He feared

CAP. III ἐς μάχην, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθοιντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθεῖεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους.

18. γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν ὑπομένειν ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ, Τερεντίου δ', οἷα δημοκόπου, μνημονεύειν ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐξιοῦσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ὀξέως. τούτοιν Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν προσετίθετο Σερουίλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ὕπατος ἔτι παρών, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὅσοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἡγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν ἑτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἢ ξυλευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύς. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἰδὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὁδεύοντι ἤδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐπανῄει μέν, αἰδούμενος οἰωνοῖς ἀπειθῆσαι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν ὄψει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφῃρημένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγανάκτει.

also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he kept challenging the enemy.

Their disagreement

18. The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Aemilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general and army schooled by successful war. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, and wished to bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, supported the opinion of Aemilius, but all the senators and so-called knights who were officers in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Aemilius even then protested, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens, according to the Roman custom, by himself, and sent word to Varro, just as he was starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the troops shared his indignation.

IV

CAP. IV 19. Ἀννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐσδραμών, παρόντων ἔτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ᾐτιᾶτο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανερὰν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὀκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἢ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τοῖς ἔνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερουιλίου, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασσεν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ' ᾔσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν (οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέτακτο), τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκεσαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαιῷ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιά, χιλίους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἔχων ἱππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοίη. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι· 20. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μέν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὖρον ζοφώδη τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιπνέοντα,

IV

CHAP. IV

Preparations for battle

19. Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forthwith to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but even this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of the senators, centurions, and tribunes that Aemilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy towards himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent overheard him and joined in the censure of Aemilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that position. Hannibal perceived the movement but did not come out of his camp because he was not yet ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Aemilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

Battle of Cannae

20. Hannibal first of all, knowing that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly

CAP. IV προύλαβεν ὅπῃ κατὰ νώτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἔμελλεν ἕξειν· ἔπειτα ἐς ὄρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγῶδες ἱππέας προενήδρευσε καὶ ψιλούς, οἷς εἴρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίῃ, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἄνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοῖς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄλλα ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέζωσεν, οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν κἀκεῖνος ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναιντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἄννωνα· τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἶχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίου τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἑτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφήδρευεν ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα θᾶσσον ἐπέλθοι.

21. Γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἑκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέθεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἥττης, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ' αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φάλαγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλλήλων κατῆρχον, μετὰ δὲ

about noon, chose a position where he would have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. He also armed 500 Celtiberians with daggers under their clothes (in addition to their long swords) which they were to use at a signal from himself. He too divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Aemilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse, and Maharbal had 1000 others, in reserve for emergencies. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner.

21. When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to remember their parents, wives, and children, and the defeat which they had suffered. They were admonished that in this battle they would be fighting for existence. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and stone-throwers advanced and began the battle. After them the

CAP IV τούτους αἱ φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος τε καὶ πόνος ἦν πολὺς ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων ἑκατέρων. ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κυκλοῦσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ὀλιγώτεροι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες ἀντιπαρῆγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναντες ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἠγωνίζοντο ὅμως ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ βαρβαρικῇ, νομίσαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.

22. Διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ σημεῖον ἐπῆρε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ φανερὰ ὤρεγον ὥσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες. καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα παρεῖλεν, ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὡς ᾤετο, τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἔστησεν ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδεῖν αὐτομόλους ἐν ὄψει πολεμίων, οὐδὲ ὑπώπτευεν ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις ὁρῶν, οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἦν ἐν τοσῷδε πόνῳ. σπεῖραι δ' ἕτεραι Λιβύων προσεποιήσαντο φεύγειν ἄχρι τῶν ὀρῶν, συναλαλάξασαι μέγα. σύμβολον δ' ἦν ἡ βοὴ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἵ τε ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις μετὰ κονιορτοῦ φερόμενον· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. τά τε βέλη Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πάντα ἀμβλύτερα διὰ

legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side fighting furiously. Meanwhile Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received their onslaught also without flinching and without fear.

22. When Hannibal saw that this manœuvre too had failed, he gave the signal to his 500 Celtiberians. These passing out of their own line of battle went over to the Romans, holding out their shields, spears, and the swords they wore openly, as if deserters. Servilius commended them and at once took away their arms and stationed them in the rear, in their tunics alone as he supposed, for he did not think it wise to put deserters in chains in the sight of the enemy, nor did he have any suspicion of men whom he saw with nothing but their tunics, nor was there time to take counsel in the thick of the fray. Then some of the African cohorts made a pretence of flight toward the mountains, uttering loud cries. This was the signal to those concealed in the ravines to turn upon the pursuers. Straightway the light-armed troops and cavalry that had been placed in ambush showed themselves, and simultaneously a strong and blinding wind rose, carrying dust into the eyes of the Romans, which quite prevented them from seeing their enemies. The impetus of the Roman missiles

CAP. IV τὴν ἀντίπνοιαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῆ, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ᾽ ἀφιέναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἐθορυβοῦντο.

23. Τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὁρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρώτους ἀνήρουν ὧν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους, ἁρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδων ἀφειδῶς· καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλεῖστον οὗτοι μάλιστα, ἅτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τό τε κακὸν ἤδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων. οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου· οὐδ᾽ ἐπεγίγνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς ἠνώχλει, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ᾽ εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακοσίους εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκυκλῶσθαι, τραπέντες ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον

was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy's was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy's weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds.

23. At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the promised opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made an onslaught on the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished a very great slaughter, inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. The Romans were now in great and manifold trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon these last on account of the pressure of the enemy in front, and because it was no longer easy to distinguish these assailants, since they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, and the ambuscades more numerous than they were. They did not even know that the 500 were 500, but thought that their whole army was surrounded by cavalry and deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing, where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Aemilius. Around these the bravest of

CAP. IV διέδραμε· καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὅσον ἄριστον ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

24. Καταθορόντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεζομάχουν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνῃροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὁτὲ δ' ἐπιπλήσσοντός τε καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νενικηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ', ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰμίλιος καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος περιῆσαν, πολλὰ δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεσον αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοί, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μέν, ἔνθαπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οἵδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν· οἱ δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἵδε οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὕλας.

25. Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὥραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὡρῶν, οὔσης δ' ἔτι νῦν ἀοιδίμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ· ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ὥραις πεντακισμύριοι, καὶ ζώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπό τε τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ

the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about 10,000.

Total defeat of the Roman army

24. The generals and after them all the others who had horses dismounted and fought on foot with Hannibal's cavalry, who surrounded them. They charged the enemy with fury and performed many brilliant exploits, the fruit of military experience, aided by courage and despair. But they fell on all sides, Hannibal circling round them and encouraging his soldiers, now exhorting them to make their victory complete, now rebuking and reproaching them because, after they had scattered the main body of the enemy, they could not overcome the small remainder. As long as Aemilius and Servilius survived the Romans stood firm, although giving and receiving many wounds, but when their generals fell they forced their way through the midst of their enemies most bravely, and escaped in various directions. Some took refuge in the two camps where the others had preceded them in their flight. These were altogether about 15,000, whom Hannibal straightway besieged. Others, to the number of about 2000, took refuge in Cannae, and these surrendered to Hannibal. A few escaped to Canusium. The remainder were dispersed in groups through the woods.

Roman losses

25. Such was the result of the battle between Hannibal and the Romans at Cannae, which was begun after the second hour of the day and ended within two hours of nightfall, and which is still famous among the Romans as a disaster; for in these few hours 50,000 of their soldiers were slain and a great many taken prisoners. Many senators who were present lost their lives and with them all

CAP. IV ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξίαρχοί τε πάντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατός τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἤδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβᾳ πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

26. Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρσι, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθεῖσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπῄει, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνῃρημένους ᾤμωξε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὐ χρῄζειν ἑτέρας τοιᾶσδε νίκης. ὃ καὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἠπείρου βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίων κἀκεῖνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἑσπέρας ἑλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὕπνου καὶ κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμμένους ἐπειρᾶτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διέδραμεν.

V

CAP. V 27. Ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκείους

the military tribunes and centurions, and their two best generals. The most worthless one, who was the cause of the calamity, had made good his escape at the beginning of the rout. The Romans, in their two years' war with Hannibal in Italy, had now lost, of their own and their allied forces, about 100,000 men.

Hannibal's strategy

26. Hannibal gained this rare and splendid victory by employing four stratagems in one day; the force of the wind, the feigned desertion of the Celtiberians, the pretended flight, and the ambuscades in the ravines. Immediately after the battle he went to view the dead. When he saw the bravest of his friends lying among the slain he burst into tears and said that he did not want another such victory. It is said that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made the same exclamation before him, when he too gained a victory over the Romans in Italy, with like loss to himself. Those of the fugitives who had taken refuge in the larger camp, in the evening chose Publius Sempronius as their general, and forced a passage through Hannibal's guards, who were tired and drowsy. These men, to the number of about 10,000, made their way to Canusium about midnight. But the 5000 in the smaller camp were captured by Hannibal the following day. Varro, having collected the remains of the army, sought to revive their fainting spirits, put them under the command of Scipio, one of the military tribunes, and himself hastened to Rome.

V

CHAP. V

27. WHEN the disaster was announced in the city, the men thronged the streets, uttering lamentations

CAP. V ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτικα ἁλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἱκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαί ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἠλευθέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἄστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὥς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιόν τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὅ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παρεφύλασσεν.

28. Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν ἄστει λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖος Σεμπρώνιος, ὁρκώσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἁλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστος ἰδίοις χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο

for their relatives and calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as being soon to fall into the enemy's hands. The women prayed in the temples with their children that there might sometime be an end to the calamities of the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with what had already happened. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present position of affairs. They freed about 8000 slaves with the masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also, in spite of the situation, collected a certain number of allies. Further they changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many citizens and allies as he could collect, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and marched to Teanum where he waited to see what Hannibal would do next.

Consternation in Rome

28. Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, and Hannibal exacted an oath from them that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the

CAP. V σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τοσαῖσδε συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσούσδε βλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τῷδε τῷ ἐλέῳ φεύγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὂν οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἑκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἔτι κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν εἴη, πρός τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρώνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δ᾽ ἔστι μὲν οὓς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ᾽ οὓς ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἀνήρει, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεαταῖς τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἠνάγκασε, πατέρας τε υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων ὑπεροψίας ὠμῆς.

29. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιὼν τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετηλίνοις μηχανήματα προσῆγεν. οἱ δ᾽ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τόλμης μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τάς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδριζομένων.

Senate to allow them to do so, and the people joined them with their own prayers and tears. Some of the Senators thought it was not wise, after such great calamities, to expose the city to the loss of so many more men, or to disdain free men while giving liberty to slaves. Others thought that it was not fitting to accustom men to flight by such compassion, but rather to teach them to conquer or die in the field, knowing that even the fugitive's own friends would not be allowed to pity him. Many precedents having been adduced on either side, the Senate finally decided that the prisoners should not be ransomed by their relatives, being of opinion that while so many dangers were still impending present clemency would tend to future harm, while severity, although painful, would be for the public advantage hereafter, and at the present time would startle Hannibal by its very boldness. Accordingly Sempronius and the two prisoners who accompanied him returned to Hannibal. The latter sold some of his prisoners, put others to death in anger, and made a bridge of their bodies with which he passed over the stream. The senators and other distinguished prisoners in his hands he compelled to fight with each other, as a spectacle for the Africans, fathers against sons, and brothers against brothers. He omitted no act of disdainful cruelty.

Senate refuses to ransom prisoners

29. Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performed many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the

Siege and capture of Petilia

CAP. V ὀλιγώτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἄννωνα ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ᾽, ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννωνος ἐφεώρων ἀλύπως ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνήσκοντας. τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ᾽ ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἷλεν ὁ Ἄννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὣς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ὀλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερριμμένους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνῆγον, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους κατήγαγόν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

30. Τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἳ ἐμισθοφόρουν Ἀννίβᾳ, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσούσδε ἑτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφίσιν αἰτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἳ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν, ὅτε πλησίον Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοιεν, ἀναμιγνύμενοι μετέπειθον αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πιστόν, ὑποπτευόμενόν τε ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτόν. κάκιον οὖν ἔπρασσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

women were no less manly than the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering that theirs was the happier lot; for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after again performing many splendid acts of bravery, being unable in their starved and exhausted condition even to return, they were all slain by the Africans. Hanno possessed himself of the town, but even so a few escaped from it, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, admiring their loyalty to Rome and their astonishing zeal.

30. As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to counteract the others. These, whenever encamped near Hannibal, mingled with their fellow-countrymen and sought to win them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while even the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as he suspected them and they him. Hannibal's fortunes therefore began to decline from this point. B.C. 215

CAP. V 31. Ἀργύριππα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἣν Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καί τις ἔκγονος εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολός τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἄξιος, Ῥωμαίων περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἧτταν ἡττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. τότε δ' αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ῥώμην διιππεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὖθις ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς ἠλᾶτο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριππα ἑτέρων ἐνδόντων εἷλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὅσους ηὗρε Λιβύων, φρουρὰν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

VI

CAP. VI 32. Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαιων Κονωνεὺς ὧδε προύδωκεν. κυνηγετεῖν εἴθιστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων ἀεί τι τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιουίῳ συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε ἐγεγένητο. ὡς δὲ ἐν πολεμουμένῃ χώρᾳ, νυκτὸς ἔφη δεῖν κυνηγετεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ στρατιώτας λαβών, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυψεν ἐν λόχμῃ τινὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δι' ὀλίγου, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι,

CHAP. V

B.C. 213

Dasius of Arpi

31. There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, who was said to be a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such an ancestor, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannae drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal was suffering reverses, he rode secretly to Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by others to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, established a Roman garrison in the city.

VI

CHAP. VI

B.C. 212

Capture of Tarentum

32. Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the commander of the garrison, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring in his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night, and he then made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town, while others he ordered to follow at no great

CAP. VI θώρακας ἔνδοθεν ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκευασμένους. κάπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεὶς ἧκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοίξαντας αὐτίκα διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἑπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἑταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἔτι φρουρουμένην ἐπολιόρκει.

33. Ὧδε μὲν Κονωνεὺς Τάραντα προύδωκε· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἦλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ηὐπόρουν, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ηὐπόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρεπάνοις ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέοντες ἄφνω συνετάρασσον ἀεί τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήεσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμά ποτε λάβρον ἐθεάσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δᾷδας ἡμμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆσδε τῆς πείρας περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν,

distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breastplates and swords underneath. Then he set a wild boar on poles, and came by night to the gates. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him entered and slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind burst in with their comrades, admitted the detachment from the thicket, and opened the gates to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines laid siege to the citadel, which was still held by the Romans. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus.

Citadel holds out

33. The Romans who held the citadel were about 5000 in number, and some of the Tarentines came to their aid. The prefect of the guard at Metapontum joined them with half of his force, and they had an abundance of missiles and engines with which they expected to drive Hannibal easily back from the walls. But Hannibal also had a plentiful supply of these things. Accordingly he brought up towers, catapults, and pent-houses with which he shook some of the walls, pulled off the parapets with hooks attached to ropes, and laid bare the defences. The garrison hurled stones down upon the engines and broke many of them, turned aside the hooks with slip-knots, and making frequent and sudden sallies constantly threw the besiegers into confusion and returned after killing many. One day when they noticed that the wind was violent some of the Romans threw down firebrands, flax, and pitch upon the engines, while others darted out and put fire under them. Hannibal, despairing of his attempt,

CAP. VI χωρίς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἄννωνι τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.

34. Λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δ' ἐκώλυον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἕως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιον θάλασσαν, ὀρύξαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχόν τε ἀγοράν, καὶ τριήρεσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμὼν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκείνοις ἀφῃροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁπάσας. πρεσβευομένων δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὅσους εἶχε Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἄννωνι ἀνέῳξαν. καὶ Θούριοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι· ἡ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει

threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then entrusting the siege to Hanno he withdrew into Iapygia.

34. The port of Tarentum is on the north side as one sails in from the sea through a narrow passage. This passage was closed by bridges which were now under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they brought in their own provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they harassed the Roman garrison, who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. Thus the Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the crews. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate the ransoming of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavouring to save Tarentum for the Romans, unexpectedly themselves fell into the power of the

Hannibal captures Thurii

CAP. VI φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Βρεντέσιον λαθοῦσα διέπλευσεν.

35. Μεταποντῖνοι δ', ἐξ οὗ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα ᾤχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἀννίβᾳ προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δέει μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ Ἀννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οἷς Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἔτι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὢν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδιδοὺς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἔς τι χωρίον ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἵπετο μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουιος ἐξίππευσεν ἐς ἐκείνους, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεὶς τῆς προδοσίας καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ πάντων πλὴν τριῶν, οὓς μόνους εἷλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιησάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ζῶντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγάμενος ὅμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπεμψεν.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐσώρευε, 36. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι

Carthaginians. The Roman garrison in Thurii escaped secretly by sea to Brundusium.

B.C. 211

Metapontum and Heraclea surrender

35. The Metapontines, after their prefect had taken half of his force to Tarentum, slew the remainder, who were few in number, and went over to Hannibal. Heraclea, which lies midway between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed their example, being moved by fear rather than inclination. Thus Hannibal was again in the more favourable position. In the following year some of the Lucanians also revolted from Rome, and Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, marched against them. But a certain Lucanian named Flavius, of the party that still remained faithful to the Romans, who was a friend and guest of Gracchus, treacherously persuaded him to come to a certain place to make an agreement with the Lucanian generals, who had, he said, repented, and to exchange pledges with them. Suspecting nothing, he went to the place with thirty horsemen, where he found himself surrounded by a large force of Numidians in ambush. Flavius rode over to them, and Gracchus, discovering the treachery, leaped from his horse along with his companions, and after performing many noble deeds of valour was slain with all the others, except three. These were the only ones captured by Hannibal, although he had exerted himself to the utmost to take the Roman proconsul alive. Although he had basely entrapped him, nevertheless in admiration of his bravery in the final struggle he gave him a funeral and sent his bones to Rome. After this he passed the summer in Apulia and collected large supplies of corn.

36. The Romans decided to attack the Capuans,

CAP. VI Καπυαιοις ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν Ἄννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους λαθών, οἱ δ' ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβὰν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπυαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὀδυρομένοις δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔφη πολὺν ἔχειν σῖτον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὁσάκις θέλοιεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑποζύγια μόνον οὐδ' ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία ἔπεμπον ἀχθοφορήσοντα τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰαπύγων Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενδέων, οὓς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντος ἁπάντων κατεφρόνουν.

37. Συνέβη δὲ Ἀννίβαν μέν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἄννωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ' ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγοῦντοιν ὑπάτοιν, Φουλουίου τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀππίου, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἷα ἀπαρασκεύους διαφθεῖραι, καὶ τὸν σῖτον Βενεβενδεῦσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἁρπάσαι, καὶ Καπύην ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιή-

and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Iapygia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Iapygia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared, because the Beneventines were still in alliance with Rome. But at this time, owing to the presence of Hannibal, they despised everybody.

Romans besiege Capua

B.C. 212

37. It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many, as they were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal's camp and plundered his baggage, and, while Hannibal was still in Lucania, dug a trench round Capua, and surrounded the entire city with a wall. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of

CAP. VI σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ' ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπυαίους πολιορκουμένους αἱ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἥ τε ὄψις ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα· ἐν ᾧ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτειχίῳ μονομάχια, προκαλουμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀρίστων. καί τις Καπυαῖος, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίῳ Κλαύδιον Ἄσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοῖς Καπυαίων τείχεσιν ὁ Ἄσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ἵππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ῥύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὁρμῇ, καὶ διιππεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους.

38. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ' ἣν ἐς Λευκανοὺς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιιδεῖν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὔκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθείς, μηδ' ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ἢ σῖτον ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντῃ περιλαμβάνουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κἀκείνους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτός τι Καπύης μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν,

this and used the space between the two walls as a camp. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside, and the appearance was that of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, and in it many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureas had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape, retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to turn his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, rode out at the opposite gate and joined the Romans on the further side, and was thus marvellously saved.

B.C. 211

38. Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to prevent so large and important a city from falling into the Romans' hands. He accordingly attacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of walls which completely surrounded them, he hastened towards Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping thus to draw their generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something himself more important than Capua. Moving with the greatest celerity through many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him, while others

Hannibal marches to Rome

CAP. VI τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ποταμοῦ.

39. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἱκανόν (ὃ γὰρ εἶχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν), πολεμίου δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπήδων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ δρόμῳ. βοῆς δὲ παμμιγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰσὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν οἳ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δέ τι πολίχνιον Ῥωμαῖοί ποτε ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς Ἄλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ ὡπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρουν. τοσῇδε προθυμίᾳ βραχὺ πολίχνιον ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἀποικιῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνη, οἷόν τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις ἡ Πλαταιέων ἔδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

40. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἄππιος μὲν Καπύῃ παρέμενε, κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἑλεῖν Καπύην, Φούλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἑτέραις ὁδοῖς ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλήκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα. τῷ δ᾽ Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν

dared not even try, he encamped at the river Anio, two and thirty stades from Rome.

Consternation in the city

39. The city was thrown into consternation as never before. They were without any adequate force of their own (what they had being in Campania), and now this strong, hostile army came suddenly against them under a general of invincible bravery and good fortune. Nevertheless, they did what they could in the circumstances. Those who were able to bear arms manned the gates, the old men mounted the walls, and the women and children brought stones and missiles, while those who were in the fields flocked in all haste to the city. Confused cries, lamentations, prayers, and mutual exhortations on every side filled the air. Some went out and cut down the bridge over the river Anio. The Romans had at one time fortified a small town to control the Aequi, which they called Alba after their mother city. Its inhabitants in the course of time, either because of carelessness of pronunciation or corruption of language, or to distinguish them from the Albanians, were called Albenses. Two thousand of these Albenses hastened to Rome to share the danger. As soon as they arrived they armed themselves and mounted guard at the gates. Such zeal did this small town, alone out of so many colonies, exhibit, just as the little city of Plataea hastened to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon to share their danger.

40. Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, as he too believed that he could capture the place. Fulvius Flaccus, the other, marched with unresting haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing

Flaccus follows Hannibal

CAP. VI γέφυραν εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρώδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὣς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας ἱππέας ὑπολιπών, οἳ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδῄουν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβήσαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγελτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τάς τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ οὐ πολλή, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθὼν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δ' ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὡς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο· οὐ γὰρ ὅ γε σὺν Φουλουίῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος. ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII 41. Ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ Φούλουιος ἑσπέρας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανεν ἐγεῖραι, τάφρον δ' ὀρυξάμενος καὶ διαστήματα

between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side, but even so Hannibal laid a trap for him. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with a bodyguard of three men secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of forces and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valour and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end, lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius, however, followed him as he retreated, preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps.

VII

CHAP. VII

41. Hannibal, having waited for a moonless night, and a position where Fulvius, at the close of day, had not had time to throw up a wall, but had ceased

CAP. VII ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν ἀντὶ τείχους ἡσύχαζεν, ἔς τε λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἔπεμψε λαθὼν ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἡσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλουίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διά τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναιντο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δε ῥωμαΐζοντας βοᾶν ὅτι Φούλουιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἀδόκητος ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε ῥωμαϊζόντων ἀκούοντες ὅτι παρήγγελται φεύγειν ἐς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνοντο.

42. Φούλουιος δὲ ἀεί τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἴθ' ὑπ' οἰκείας τότε συνέσεως, εἴτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσών, εἴτε παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθών, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὀξέως ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐς τὸ λόφον ἀγούσαις ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐχ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ'

Hannibal breaks into the camp of Fulvius

operations after merely digging a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall, quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should attempt to occupy the hill, believing it to be deserted. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When the Indians should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighbouring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamour striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the pitch-dark night appalled them, and when they heard orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they proceeded to do so.

He is driven out

42. But Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general

CAP. VII Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μή τις ἔφοδος ἔξωθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηδρόμει μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δᾳδάς τε ἧπτε καὶ πῦρ πανταχόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβαλόντες, εὐμαρῶς οἷα ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφήν, εἱλούμενοι περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἁπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ πάνυ ἠγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρᾳ περιῆν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανάς·

43. Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθὼν ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνήθους, ἐρωμένην τε εἶχεν ἄγριος ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ' ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανῄει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον ἄμφω καρτερῶς, ἐπειγόμενοι χειμῶνος ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἕως Ἀννίβας ἠρεμεῖ. Καπυαῖοι δέ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλειπουσῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων,

but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. He himself stationed strong guards on the mounds to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn round, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies, until, enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders, trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems.

43. When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman

Capua surrenders to Rome

CAP. VII ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς, Ἄννωνι ἑτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὅσους ηὗρον αὐτομολοῦντας, χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον· Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφείλοντο μόνον. εὔφορος δ' ἐστὶν ἐς σῖτον ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πᾶσα· πεδιὰς γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπανῆκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιῄρητο.

44. Ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἳ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἐθίσας ἀεί τι λῄζεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγονὼς καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἤλγει τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβριζόντων συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβών, ἑκάστοτέ τινας ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισιᾶται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ

generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city, while from the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile corn-land, being a plain. So Capua was once more restored to the Romans and the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them.

B.C. 210

Tisia in Bruttium lost and regained by Hannibal

44. In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia (which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behaviour of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and destroyed the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to Rhegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned

CAP. VII Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

45. Ἰαπύγων δ᾽ ἐν πόλει Σαλαπίᾳ, Λιβύων ὑπηκόῳ, δύο ἤστην ἄνδρε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλοιν δ᾽ ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρω. τούτοιν Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ᾑρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἤκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠγείρετο τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἔπειθεν ὁ Βλάτιος τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ συμφρονῆσαι μόνης, μή τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βίᾳ λαβόντων, ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ᾽ ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε τοῦτο Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ᾽ ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν λέγοντος· ὃ καὶ τέως ἄρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγον τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγόρῳ διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐσομένῳ. Ἀννίβας δ᾽ οὔτε ἀπορρῖψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ᾽ ἐχθροῦ πιστεῦσαι ῥᾳδίως ἀξιῶν, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεψόμενος ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθών, “οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τὴν πατρίδα;” ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνυεν.

46. Καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. “τοῦτο δ᾽,” ἔφη, “τὸ νῦν ἐπιβούλευμα

those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

The story of Dasius and Blatius

45. In Salapia, a city in Iapygia subject to Carthage, were two men pre-eminent by birth, wealth, and power, but for a long time enemies to each other. One of these, named Dasius, sided with the Carthaginians, the other, Blatius, with the Romans. While Hannibal's affairs were flourishing Blatius remained quiet, but when the Romans began to recover their former supremacy he endeavoured to come to an understanding with his enemy, simply for the sake of their country, lest, if the Romans should take it by force, some irreparable harm should befall it. Dasius, pretending to agree with him, communicated the matter to Hannibal. Hannibal took the part of a judge between them, Dasius acting as accuser and Blatius defending himself, and saying that he was slandered by reason of his accuser's personal enmity. And it was because he had foreseen this all along, that Blatius ventured to make such a proposal to an enemy, knowing that their private enmity would cast discredit on his accusation. Hannibal thought that it was not wise either to shelve the matter altogether or to put too much faith in an accuser who was a personal enemy; so he dismissed them, saying that he would consider the matter by himself. As they were going out by a very narrow passage Blatius said to Dasius in a low tone, "Are you not willing to save your country, good sir?" Dasius immediately repeated the words in a loud voice, thus letting Hannibal know.

46. Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present

CAP. VII καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ τις ἦν, ῥύσεταί με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ τοιῶνδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγενημένῳ, κινδυνεύων ἔτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, αὖθις ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ’ ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,” ἔφη, “χρηστὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι δυνατὸς ἦν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;” ἅ μοι δοκεῖ προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ’ ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ὑπεκρίνετο συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ᾔτει μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὀκνήσας ἔφη, “διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπί τι τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν (μηνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτω) καὶ στρατιὰν ἄξω λαβών· ἔστι γάρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ· σὺ δ’ ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιτηρεῖν.”

47. Ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθὼν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ’ ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁδὸν ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ

scheme," he said, "will relieve me also from all former suspicion, if there was any. For who would either previously have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to speak thus again to one who was his betrayer and accuser in the first case, and especially in the judgment-hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to repeat his words again as before? Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well-disposed, how would he be able to co-operate with me in saving the country after what has happened? And why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?" I think that Blatius foresaw all this when he whispered again to Dasius, and that by this course he brought his enemy into greater discredit, and even persuaded Hannibal to disbelieve the former accusations. Nor did Blatius, even after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly untrustworthy. Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blasius replied without hesitation: "I will ride to one of the Roman camps (indicating the one that was furthest distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring thither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city."

47. Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome, a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate,

CAP. VII τὸν υἱὸν ὅμηρον, ἱππέας ᾔτει χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν ἠπείγετο κατὰ σπουδήν, τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὁρῶν, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἤδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας οὖν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρω στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καταφρονῶν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθών, καὶ "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ στρατιὰν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει." καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβών τινας, ἐπανῆγεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὔπω τοῦ Βλατίου πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Λιβύων ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύλασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου μόνας εἴασεν ἀνεῷχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνας μέρος ἅπαν εἶχεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἐξετετάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεῳγμένας, ἥσθη νομίσας προλαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὁ δ' ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμόντας, ὠθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομὴν διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.

he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as at last having confidence in him. Supposing, therefore, that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. "And now," said he to Hannibal, "I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city." Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side there was nothing to excite suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did Blatius overcome Dasius, for the third time meeting plot with counterplot.

VIII

CAP. VIII 48. Καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἑσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπεῖπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρήγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἕω, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἠμύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἷα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιῄει, κατασκεπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπελπίζων, ἕως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἴτε προιδόμενος εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλούμενος αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔπιπτον ἤδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἔς τι χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναθορόντες αὐτό τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

49. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδῄουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετῴκιζεν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετῴκιζον· ἔς τε τὴν Ἀννίβου ἔτι ὑπήκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Defeat and death of Fulvius

48. WHILE Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent his cavalry to attack the Roman camp. The Romans hurried from their beds and defended themselves, in disorder, naturally, but with boldness, for they believed the enemy to be a few men who had come on the scene from somewhere or other. Meanwhile, Hannibal, with the infantry, was marching round to the other side of the town, in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, when he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder jumped up on to a mound in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

49. After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Iapygians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellaei. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Iapygia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, invading the territory still subject to Hannibal, they took Aulonia and overran B.C. 209

CAP. VIII εἷλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὀλίγων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἤρα γυναικός, ἧς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγουσι τὰς μηχανὰς ᾗ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὔκαιρον ἐς πολέμους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

50. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν, ὡς ἔμαθεν εἰλημμένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Κλαύδιός τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἑλών, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κρισπῖνος ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν δέ τινα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδών, καὶ δόξας ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο, θυμικὸς ὢν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικὸς ἀεί. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Λιβύων φανέντων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν οὐραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἦρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς ἑπομένων αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοντισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὡς εἶδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὡς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιελών, τὸ μὲν σῶμα

The Romans recover Tarentum

the territory of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender to the Romans, who brought their engines up to the part of the wall where he was in command. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

B.C. 208

Death of Marcellus

50. Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus, took the field against him, not venturing, however, to offer battle. But Marcellus, happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger. Suddenly, a large body of Africans appeared and attacked him on all sides. Those Romans who were in the rear at once took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but ridiculed him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with dis-

CAP. VIII ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῷ παιδὶ προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον·

51. Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγῖδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. ἄρτι δ' εἰλήφεσαν Κρισπίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἅπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγῖδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίη τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσειν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὁπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὓς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὡς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἔμελλον, αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθῆκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι περιεστῶτας ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ κατετίτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆσδε πείρας ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεὶς ἀπεχώρει.

52. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, ὡδοποιημένα πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, διώδευε δύο μησίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας ἓξ διῆλθεν. ἐσέβαλέ

tinguished honours, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp.

Hannibal foiled at Salapia

51. Being angry with the Salapians, Hannibal sent a Roman deserter to them with a letter stamped with the signet ring of Marcellus, before the latter's death had become generally known, saying that the army of Marcellus was following behind and that Marcellus gave orders that the gates should be opened to receive them. But the citizens had received letters a little before from Crispinus, who had sent word to all the surrounding towns that Hannibal had got possession of Marcellus' ring. So they sent Hannibal's messenger back in order that he might not by remaining there learn what was going on, and promised to do as they had been ordered. Then they armed themselves and having taken their station on the walls awaited the stratagem. When Hannibal came with his Numidians, whom he had armed with Roman weapons, they drew up the portcullis as though they were gladly welcoming Marcellus; but after they had admitted as many as they thought they could easily master, they dropped the portcullis and slew all those who had gained entrance. Upon those who were still standing around outside the walls they hurled missiles from above and covered them with wounds. Hannibal, having failed in his second attempt against the city, now withdrew.

B.C. 207
Battle of Metaurus

52. In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal

CAP. VIII τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππέας δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἁλόντων, οἱ ὕπατοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ᾽ οὔπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικώς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξας περὶ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὔπορον ἠλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερριμμένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις συντασσομένους ἔτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπήλλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἂν σφίσι του Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβεν.

53. Θεὸς δέ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γενόμενον· στρατηγοί τε γὰρ οἱ ἑκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ᾽ ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε κἀκείνοις συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαψιλοῦς ἐκράτουν ἑκάτεροι. οὕτω παραλλὰξ ἡ πόλις εὐτυχιῶν καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειρᾶτο. Κελτιβήρων δ᾽ ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ᾽ ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.

six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and fifteen elephants, and sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans, and the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learning the number of his forces, combined their own troops in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but was anxious to join his brother. So he retreated, broke camp at nightfall, and wandered among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, until at daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

53. It seems to me that God gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was in a way parallel to it. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and an approximately equal number of men. In both cases the number of prisoners taken was large, and each side also captured the other's camp and a vast quantity of war material. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.

CAP. VIII 54. Ὁ δ' ἐπί τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσῇδε δι' ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυίᾳ δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πόνοις ἀτρύτοις ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπτωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπήκοον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἑτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφιξομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ' ὧν σῖτός τε ἦν καὶ στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος αὐτὰς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσὶ κατέδυσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἑξήκοντα δ' ἔλαβεν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διέφυγον ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενός τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκώς, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιορωμένου, συνιδὼν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἤδη Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὔπω γενησομένων κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πάνυ πολλάς, τάς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετῴκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευούσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλούς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος διέφθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

IX

CAP. IX 55. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ γίγνονται μὲν ὕπατοι Λικίνιός τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ

CHAP. VIII

Hannibal retires to Bruttium

54. Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labours of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he withdrew to the Bruttians, the only people that remained subject to him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had no rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his warships, sank twenty and captured sixty of them, while the remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred their strong towns to the plains on the ground that they were planning a revolt, and despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

IX

CHAP. IX

B.C. 205

55. In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Of these Crassus confronted Hannibal in Apulia,

CAP. IX Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννιβᾳ περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὔ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρήσας τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὀκνοῦντας, ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. ἔνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Λοκροῖς ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημινίῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν. Πλημίνιος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὕβριν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐκλιπών, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν ἔδοσαν Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λεῖπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμιείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

56. Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἓξ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείων ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πεσινοῦντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἔνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶνδε τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην

Scipio sails to Sicily

while Scipio advised the people that they would never rid themselves of Hannibal and the Carthaginians who harassed them in Italy, except by sending a Roman army into Africa and so bringing danger to their own doors. By persisting strenuously and persuading those who hesitated he was himself chosen general for Africa and sailed forthwith to Sicily. Having collected and drilled an army there he sailed suddenly against Locri in Italy, which was garrisoned by Hannibal, and after slaying the garrison and putting the town under the command of Pleminius, embarked for Africa. Pleminius visited upon the Locrians every kind of outrage, licentiousness, and cruelty, and ended by actually robbing the temple of Proserpina. For this the Romans put him and his companions in wrong-doing to death in prison, and gave the property they left to the Locrians to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess. All the rest of the plunder that they could find they restored to the goddess, and what they could not find they made good out of their own public treasury.

B.C. 204

A sacred image brought to Rome

56. During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter[1] had appeared in Rome, the decemviri who consulted the Sibylline books said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the Mother of the Gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome.

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[1] Probably equivalent to "portents in the sky." Jupiter was a sky-god.

CAP. IX ἐνεχθῆναι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν, ᾗ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἣ ἔφερεν αὐτό, ἰλύι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ σαλεύεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἕψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἑλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν, μοιχείας ἔγκλημα ἔχουσαν ἔτι ἄκριτον, καὶ δι' ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὖσαν, ἐπιθειάσαι τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδήσασθαι τῇ μίτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἕσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχίστης δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευε τὰ Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπίκλην, ἐπεπόμφεσαν, υἱὸν μὲν ὄντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρώτου κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὧδε μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.

57. Ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρᾳ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἔνοπλος παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίνων

Not long after, the news came that it had fallen, and the image of the Goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the Mother of the Gods the day on which it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that kind but had not yet been tried (being suspected of it on account of her profligate life), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibylline books to send "their best man" to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, who deprived the Carthaginians of their supremacy, was judged to be their best man, and sent. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.

Hannibal's troubles in Bruttium

57. When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to the Senate secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their goodwill. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by

CAP. IX ἐχόντων αὐτήν· ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις. ᾐτιᾶτο δ' ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. "ἵνα δ'," ἔφη, "μηδ' ὑπονοῆσθε," τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὅπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίοις μάλιστα εὔνους ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ φρουρὰν καταλιπών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετῴκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὔκαιρον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὁρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθεμενος.

58. Καρχηδονίων δ' αὐτὸν μετακαλούντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδοίκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐγνώκει δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὅμως ἕπεσθαι, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης. τῶν δ' ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων καταφρονῶν, ἔγνω διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλουτίσας,

the Petelians, as he had expelled them and given the town to the Bruttians. He accused the latter of sending an embassy to Rome, and when they denied it pretended to believe them, but in order, as he said, that there might be no ground even for suspicion, he delivered their principal citizens over to the Numidians, who were ordered to guard each one of them separately. He then disarmed the people, armed the slaves, and stationed them as guards over the city. He also visited the other cities and did the same in them. But in the case of Thurii he selected 3000 citizens, who were particularly friendly to the Carthaginians, and 500 others from the country, but gave the goods of the remainder as spoils to his soldiers. Leaving a strong garrison in the city he settled these 3500 people at Croton, which he judged to be well situated for his operations, and where he established his magazines and his headquarters against the other towns.

B.C. 203

Hannibal recalled by Carthage

58. When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he feared that he should be charged with having caused so great a war by his original attack on the Romans in Spain. Nevertheless, he determined to obey, as necessity compelled him, and accordingly he built a large fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against his calum-

CAP. IX εὔνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὀψόμενον· ὁ δὲ ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτούς τε καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναιντο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαζεν. τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἥκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουρούς, σφαγή τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἑαλωκυίαις, ἐγίγνοντο.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὖ γεγυμνασμένους, ἔπειθε πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἵποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὤκνουν. ἀθροίσας οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὡς δή τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψων, περιέστησε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ᾐδοῦντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνειργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας, τοῦ μὴ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους

niators in Carthage. But being ashamed to commit such a breach of faith himself, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being overcome by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter ensued, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured.

He tries to take his Italian soldiers thither

59. Hannibal himself, knowing that the Italians in his army were extremely well-drilled soldiers, sought to persuade them by lavish promises to accompany him to Africa. Those of them who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly expatriated themselves and followed him. Those who had committed no such wrong hesitated. Collecting, therefore, those who had decided to remain, as though he wished to say something to them, or to reward them for their services, or to give them some command as to the future, he surrounded them with his army unexpectedly, and directed his soldiers to choose from among them such as they would like to have for slaves. But when some had made their selections accordingly, though others were ashamed to reduce their comrades in so many engagements to servitude, Hannibal shot down all the rest of the men with darts in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men. With them he slaughtered also about 4000 horses and a

CAP. IX ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

60. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Πετηλῖνοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καί τινας αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἀνήγετο, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγών, τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὡς πολεμίοις· ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρείᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὡς πολεμίων.

61. Ἀννίβου δ' ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἳ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγένηντο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ ὅπλα, εἴ τινα ἦν ἔτι χωρὶς ὧν Ἀννίβας ἀφῄρητο· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οἷα θεράποντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης ἐσβολῆς.

large number of pack animals, which he was not able to transport to Africa.

He embarks for Africa

60. Thereupon he embarked his army and waited for a wind, having left a few garrisons on the land. These the Petelians and other Italians attacked, slew some of them, and then ran away. Hannibal put out for Africa, having devastated Italy for sixteen successive years, and inflicted countless evils upon the inhabitants, and reduced them several times to the last extremity, and treated his own subjects and allies with contumely as enemies. For, as he had made use of them before not from any good-will but from necessity, now that they could be of no further service to him he scorned them and considered them enemies.

Punishment of the Bruttians

61. When Hannibal had departed from Italy the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except to the Bruttians, who remained most loyal to him to the end. From these they took away a considerable part of their land, and also their arms, if there were any that Hannibal had not taken. They were also forbidden to be enrolled in the military forces thereafter, as being not even free persons, but were required to attend as servants upon the consuls and praetors, when they went to govern their provinces, for the performance of official duties. Such was the end of Hannibal's invasion of Italy.

BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

Θ

ΛΙΒΥΚΗ

Ι

CAP. I 1. Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοίνικες ᾤκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἁλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρός τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζουσι, Διδὼ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἧς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἔφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδέοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μέν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ᾐδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτου· μάλιστα δ' ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἂν πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθεντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμόντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἕνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Βύρσα ὀνομάζεται.

BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

I

CHAP. I

First Phoenician settlement

1. THE Phoenicians founded Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling-place as an ox-hide would encompass. The Africans laughed at the paltriness of the Phoenicians' request, and were ashamed to deny so small a favour. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the subtlety they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phoenicians, cutting the hide round and round into one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).

CAP. I 2. Χρόνῳ δ', ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ναυσί τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἤδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσί, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ἥ τε ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξιόμαχος τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικήν. ἑπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδὼ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἔς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἑξῆς, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δεύτεραί τε σπονδαὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις αἵδε διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτὰς τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔγνωσαν. αὖθις δ' ᾤκισαν ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ χωρίον. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἡ Ἰβηρική, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλίαν

2. Later on, using this as a base and getting the upper hand of their neighbours in war, and engaging in traffic by sea, like all Phoenicians, they built the outer city round Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and a great part of the Mediterranean, carried war abroad into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that sea, and also into Spain, while they sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, each invading the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, while the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa until they deprived the Carthaginians of their hegemony, their navy and their elephants, and required them to pay an indemnity within a certain time. This second treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and decreed that it should be accursed. But they subsequently occupied a spot very near the former one with colonists of their own, because the position is a convenient one for governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what

Punic wars

CAP. I ἐσβαλὼν ἔπραξεν, ἡ Ἀννιβαϊκή· τὰ δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ γενόμενα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἧδε συνάγει.

3. Ἤρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἑλόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἳ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους στρατηγὸν ᾔτουν, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνῃ στρατοπεδεύων ὥρᾳ καύματος περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὁδοιπορίᾳ κακοπαθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ ἑσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διεῖργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίσας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικώντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆσδε μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἦγεν, ὀλίγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὕπατος γεγονώς, αἰχμάλωτος ἦν.

4. Τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἢ ἐπανή-

Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibalic history. This book comprises the operations in Africa from the earliest period.

B.C. 256

3. The events begin with the Sicilian war, when the Romans sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to the lack of a leader, asked the Lacedemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from heat, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighbouring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way too to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, and thinking that night would be on the side of the conquerors, drew up his forces and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself.

B.C. 255
Regulus defeated by Xanthippus

4. Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting, sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it

B.C. 250
Fate of Regulus

CAP. I ξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥῆγλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς λύμην ἕτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρᾳ κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππῳ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Λακώνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἔδωκε τήνδε εὐπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην εὐπραγήματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται.

5. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες δ' ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ὄντες ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχήκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφῆκαν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιεν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ταῖς

were not granted. Yet Regulus in private urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war with energy, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. Xanthippus' success was the beginning of his ruin, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit of such an exploit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honour him with splendid gifts, and sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history. B.C. 241

The Mercenary war

5. After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. B.C. 240 The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. They also sent men to act as mediators. The Africans, however, refused the mediation, but said that the cities would become subject to the Romans if they would take them, but the Romans refused. Then the Carthaginians blockaded the towns with a great

CAP. I πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφῃροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δ᾿, ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλῄστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας· τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολύ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αἰτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδὼ ποινὴν ἔδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐνεγράφη.

II

CAP. II 6. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ὑπήγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν. καὶ τάσδε αὖ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου. διαβάντες δέ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἑτέροις τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρία καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιός τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφώ, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένω θνήσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ᾿ αὐτοὺς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἔπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος υἱὸς ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἥκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῷτο

fleet, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by famine, but were driven by want to rob the merchants who sailed by, even killing those who were Romans, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

CHAP I

B.C. 238

II

6. Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by an agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty also by crossing this stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of this Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail thither, and making all believe that he was come by a divine mission and

CHAP. II

B.C. 229

Hannibal's invasion of Italy

B.C. 210

CAP. II συμβούλῳ περὶ ἁπάντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τοῦδε πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιπεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἠξίου πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἀννίβαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

7. Τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἄρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις καὶ πορθουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Λίγυάς τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν χειροῦσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων· οἱ δὲ ᾤοντο Καρχηδονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὄντας ἐφεδρεύειν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλουμένους οἴκοι, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου· ἐθελοντὰς δέ, εἴ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔτι οὖσι χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελία. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἥπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.

8. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθους ὢν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καί τινας ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζούς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα, ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς

had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country.

B.C. 205

7. Some of the leading men opposed this plan, saying that it was not wise to send an army into Africa just when Italy was wasted by such long wars and was still subject to the ravages of Hannibal, and while Mago was enlisting Ligurian and Celtic mercenaries for a flank attack upon her. They ought not to attack another land, they said, until they had delivered their own country from its present perils. Others thought that the Carthaginians were emboldened to attack Italy because they were not molested at home, and that if war were brought to their own doors they would recall Hannibal. So it was decided to send Scipio into Africa, but they would not allow him to levy an army in Italy while Hannibal was ravaging it. If he could procure volunteers he might take them, and he might use the forces which were then in Sicily. They authorized him to fit out ten galleys and allowed him to take crews for them, and also to refit those in Sicily. They did not, however, give him any money except what he could raise among his friends So indifferently at first did they undertake this war, which soon became so great and glorious for them.

Scipio's invasion of Africa

8. Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected about 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily,

CAP. II Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενείους ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἴρητο χωρὶς ὅπλων ἕπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ᾽ αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράψας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιντο καλλίστοις. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὅπλων ἐρήμους, καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκείνοις προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ᾽ ἑκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιῆν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἰδότας· οἷς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.

9. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγωνι δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τὴν Λιγυστίνην ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτά, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτῷ μεθ᾽ ὅσων δύναιτο ἄλλων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβᾳ τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἠγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ ξένους

taking as a bodyguard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to come on a certain day, provided with the best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of 300 Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people's expense, who at once were indebted to him for this favour and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

Consternation at Carthage

9. When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, about 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed even then because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied about 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired

CAP. II ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντας ἐγύμναζε, διακοσίους σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

10. Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ. Μασσυλίων δ' αὖ, γένους ἀλκίμου, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῷ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστῳ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἠγγύησε τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὤν. ὡς δ' ἠγγύησεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ μειράκιον. Σύφαξ δὲ κνιζόμενος ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ παιδὶ τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνι διαπλεύσαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους ἰόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέγα ποιούμενοι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἀσδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγῶν συνετίθετο καὶ ὅδε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λανθάνων, ὡς ᾤετο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τῆς θυγατρός, ὑβρισμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ἡγεῖτο δ' ὅμως τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδὼν Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποὺς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναιντο.

mercenaries and exercised them all in a camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

Syphax and Masinissa

10. There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in special honour by the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage and being a handsome man, of noble character, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian and Hasdrubal a Carthaginian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also pricked with love of the girl, began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and proposed to Scipio (who sailed over from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint attack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, in his turn made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. But Hasdrubal detected it, and although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to his country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.

CAP. II 11. Ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἱππέας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργον ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἵδε, καὶ πόᾳ χρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροποτοῦσιν. ὅ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γεύεται, ποηφαγῶν ἀεί, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιούτους ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ θήρας ἢ λεηλασίας ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν· ἅπερ ᾤετο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν), ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τῷδε πολεμεῖν ἔστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντᾶν.

12. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολύ, μετὰ δὲ ἁμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύοντο· Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆρχε, καὶ ἱππικὸν μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. ὅθεν ῥᾳδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀχυρὰ ἀνεπήδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδνη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύπτετό ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δέ ποτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ

War between Masinissa and Carthage

11. Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power stronger by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained day and night to hurl showers of javelins, advancing and retreating and again advancing. These, in fact, are the tactics which they always employ, alternate flight and pursuit. These Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Such were the troops of whom Masinissa collected about 20,000, and kept leading them out on hunts and pillaging expeditions against other tribes, considering such things useful both in themselves and for the training which they afforded. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

12. Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous, but they marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in every toil and hardship, and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Even when he was overtaken, he often divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his

CAP. II τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐστρατήγει λανθάνειν ὅποι ποτὲ εἴη. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἠμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορὰ δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅ τι περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν, ληζομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ᾽ ὠφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

III

CAP. III 13. Καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονιοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἐπεί οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῆ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων· κέλητές τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατιὰν ἦγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ἱππέας δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαί τε Μασσανάσσην καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαιεν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἐξαπατώμενος, ἀντενεδρεύων δέ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἧκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων. καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ

enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place, but his generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better.

III

CHAP. III

B.C. 204

Scipio arrives in Africa

13. In this way Masinissa was making war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, set sail for Africa with fifty-two warships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. Thus Scipio was sailing to Africa, but when the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should overcome Scipio. Masinissa, however, was not deceived by this scheme, and in order to dupe them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa

CAP. III καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Σκιπίων καταχθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτήν. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀπεῖχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

14. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἴτε δείσας εἴτε ἄπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήψατό τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· Σκιπίων δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔπεμπεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καί τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεῦσαι. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπειθε τὸν ἵππαρχον Ἄννωνα πέμψαι τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μή τι πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν· καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ἕψεσθαι. Ἄννων μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἦγεν ἐπιλέκτους ἱππέας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λιβύων τι πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἄννων ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος εἵπετο ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Λιβύων γενομένων, ἥ τε πλείων

encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was encamped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of about 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

First skirmishes

14. Now Syphax, either being moved by fear, or being faithless to all parties in turn, pretended that his country was harassed by the neighbouring barbarians, and set out for home. Scipio sent out some detachments to feel the enemy, and at the same time several towns surrendered themselves to him. Then Masinissa came to Scipio's camp secretly by night, and, after mutual greeting, advised him to place not more than 5000 men in ambush on the following day, about thirty stades from Utica, near a tower built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. At daybreak he persuaded Hasdrubal to send Hanno, his master of horse, to reconnoitre the numbers of the enemy and throw himself into Utica, lest the inhabitants, taking advantage of the proximity of the enemy, should start a revolution, and promised to follow himself if ordered to do so. Hanno set out accordingly with 1000 picked Carthaginian horse and a number of Africans. Masinissa followed with his Numidians. When they came to the tower and Hanno passed on with a small force to Utica, a part of the men in ambush showed themselves, and Masinissa advised the officer who was left in command of the Carthaginian cavalry to attack them as being a small force. He followed at a short distance, as if to support the movement. Then the rest of the men in ambush showed themselves and sur-

CAP. III ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἳ ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπήντα τῷ Ἄννωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς φίλος ἐπανιόντι, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

15. Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἔσκαπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου. πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ᾗ ὄνομα ἦν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφαττον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὖθις ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπιστραφεὶς πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Λιβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν.

rounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa together shot at them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened to meet Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio's camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who was in Hasdrubal's hands.

Capture of Locha

15. Scipio and Masinissa ravaged the country and released the Roman prisoners who were digging in the fields, having been sent thither by Hannibal from Spain, from Sicily, and from Italy itself. They also besieged a large town called Locha, where they suffered great hardships. But as they were putting up the scaling ladders, the Lochaeans offered to leave the city under a truce. Thereupon Scipio sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, angry at what they had suffered in the siege, refused to obey. They scaled the walls and slaughtered both women and children indiscriminately Scipio dismissed the survivors in safety; he then deprived the army of its booty and compelled the officers who had disobeyed orders to cast lots publicly, and punished three of them, upon whom the lot had fallen, with death. Having done these things he began ravaging the country again. Hasdrubal sought to draw him into ambush by sending Mago, his master of horse, to attack him in front, while he fell upon his rear. Scipio and Masinissa being surrounded in this way divided their forces into two parts, turning in opposite directions against the enemy, by which means they slew 5000 of the Africans, took 1800 prisoners, and drove the remainder against the rocks.

CAP. III 16. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκῃ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐζευγμέναις πύργον ἐπιθείς, ὅθεν τριπήχη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠφίει, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀντέπασχε θραυομένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δ᾽ ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριοῖς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων, δρεπάνοις τε περισπῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα ὑπετάφρευον, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρῆγον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκούς· ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπήδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάξειαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπίφορον. ὅθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνοὺς οὕτως αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίστατο.

17. Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενος ἧκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἀσδρούβου. ἔτι δ᾽ ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἑκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς μέχρι νῆές τε ἕτεραι ναυπηγούμεναι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιντο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διαιτᾶν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐδικαίου μήτε Ῥωμαίους Λιβύης μήτε Καρχηδονίους Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νήσους ἔχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἢν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἔφη συμμαχήσειν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπείρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, τήν τε Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων

Siege of Utica

16. Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, the ships being badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, battered the wall with rams whenever he could get up to it, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slip-knots, and deadened the force of the rams by dropping beams upon them crosswise. They also made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it.

Negotiations of Syphax

17. Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians, were ready, and certain Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he endeavoured to arrange a settlement. His claim was that the Romans should not set foot in Africa under arms, nor the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the one which agreed. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians, and to give him in marriage which-

CAP. III τριῶν οὐσῶν δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν ἂν ἐθέλῃ. ἔφερε δ' ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοίη τῶν θεραπευτήρων αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχνουμένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἔδωκέ τινι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἔδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἤλεγξεν.

18. Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ῥωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἷλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἔκτεινεν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἄλλην πολλὴν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, καὶ νῆες εὐτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε ἔγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὁρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

IV

CAP. IV 19. Ὧν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρά τινων Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε, καὶ ἠπόρει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὑτῷ διαιρούμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἁπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύν-

ever of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver.

B.C. 203

18. Then Syphax, finding that he could not deceive anybody, joined the Carthaginians openly. He captured, by means of treachery, an inland town named Tholon, where the Romans had a large store of war materials and food, and slew the garrison, who had refused to depart under a truce. He also sent for another large reinforcement of Numidians. And now, as the mercenaries had arrived and the ships were in readiness, they decided to fight, Syphax attacking those besieging Utica, and Hasdrubal the camp of Scipio, while the ships should bear down upon the ships; all these things were to be done the next day and at the same time in order that the Romans, owing to the smallness of their force, might be unable to withstand them.

IV

B.C. 203

Scipio's night attack on Hasdrubal

19. Masinissa learned of these plans during the night from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should everywhere be too weak. He therefore forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself,

CAP. IV νους γενόμενος εἶπε· “τόλμης καὶ ταχυτῆτος ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσωμεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα δ' ἐν τῷδε πλεονεκτήσομεν, μάθετε ἤδη. ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκπλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἀθρόᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύουσι δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰσόμαχοι, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ προύχομεν. καὶ ἢν ὁ θεὸς δῷ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἷς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἢ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἢν ἀρέσκῃ, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ.”

20. Συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, “ὁ μὲν καιρός,” εἶπεν, “εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβερώτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν σκότῳ. φθάσομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆές εἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτοιν Ἀσδρούβας μέν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσειε τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ

Speech to his officers

he said: "Daring and swiftness, friends, are what we need, and to fight animated by despair. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing—that those who are inferior in numbers should be the aggressors—will terrify them. Further, we shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together, and we shall not bring it to bear on all of our enemies at once, but on those we choose to attack first. They are in separate camps, and we are their equals in strength when we take them in detail, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you my opinion."

20. As they all agreed, he continued: "The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, when the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none of their allies will be able to give them aid in the darkness. Thus alone we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not possible to attack ships by night. But Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Of these, Hasdrubal is the very head and front of the war, while Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, a mass of effeminacy and cowardice. Come, then, let us ourselves attack Hasdrubal with all our force,

CAP. IV παντὸς ἴωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἢν ἄρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐξίῃ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θρασυτάτῃ· τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης) προπέμψω πορρωτέρω κυκλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθείημεν, ὑποδέχοιντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φιλίους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ' ἐπικρατοίημεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῷντο."

21. Ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίσαι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμῃ καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικόν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὀφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἠρέμα τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπων. οἱ δ' εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ οἱ Λίβυες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὕπνου, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουον, οὐδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γιγνομένων εἰδότος. ἀναπη-

entrusting to Masinissa here the task of watching Syphax, in case, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are of no use in the night, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

Complete victory of Scipio

21. Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and himself offered sacrifice to Courage and Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and all that great army moved in profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with confused shouts mingled with the blast of all the trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, caught up their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know

CAP. IV. δῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνῄρουν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἦν ἥ τε βοὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερώτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοί τε εἰλῆφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἑκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦντο· ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἱππέας, οἳ κύκλῳ περιεστήκεσαν, ἐμπίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον.

22. Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω πολὺν ἐργάζεται φόνον. ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ μαθὼν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἤδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῇ παρασκευῇ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεζεύγνυε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπών, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανιόντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἷλε Μασσανάσσης.

23. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τῶν δ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμύριοι· καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ

exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The Africans were terrified by the cries of the enemy, by their appearance and by their actions, especially in the midst of darkness and uncertainty as to the nature of the disaster. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they hurried helter-skelter, in any direction at random, ran into the Roman horse, which had been placed round them, and were cut down.

Retreat of Syphax

22. While it was still night, Syphax, hearing the noise and seeing the fire, did not leave his quarters, but sent to the assistance of Hasdrubal a detachment of horse, who were suddenly attacked by Masinissa, with severe loss. But at daybreak, learning that Hasdrubal had fled and that his forces were destroyed, or taken prisoners, or dispersed, and that his camp and stores had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he fled precipitately to the interior, leaving everything behind, thinking that Scipio would return immediately from the pursuit of the Carthaginians and fall upon him. Masinissa therefore captured his camp and stores also.

23. Thus by one act of daring and in a little part of a night, did the Romans demolish two camps and two armies much greater than their own. The Romans lost about 100 men killed, the enemy a little less than 30,000, besides 2400 prisoners. Moreover, 600 horse surrendered themselves to

CAP. IV ἱππέων ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανιόντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνῄρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὅπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μιᾶς τῆσδε νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλὼν ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Λιγυστίνων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

24. Καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἀσδρούβας δέ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ' ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδὰν κατέφυγεν, ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει· πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἄννωνα τὸν Βομίλχαρος εἵλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλῄζετο ἐς τὰς τροφάς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὓς εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππέας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπῆγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὡπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξιόντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτόν τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα,

Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the whole power of Carthage by this one splendid victory, distributed prizes of valour to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria.

24. While Scipio was thus engaged, Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who had been wounded in the night engagement, fled with 500 horse to the town of Anda, where he collected some mercenaries and Numidians who had escaped from the battle, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would enlist. Learning that the Carthaginians had decreed the penalty of death against him for his bad generalship, and had chosen Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, as commander, he made this an army of his own, recruited a number of malefactors, robbed the country for provisions, and drilled his men, about 3000 horse and 8000 foot, resting his hopes solely on fighting. His doings were for a long time unknown to both the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio led his troops in arms against Carthage itself and haughtily offered battle, but nobody responded. Meanwhile Hamilcar, the admiral, hastened with 100 ships to attack Scipio's naval station, hoping to forestall his return, and thinking that he could easily

Scipio advances against Carthage

CAP. IV καὶ τὰς οὔσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριήρεις ῥᾳδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἱρήσειν.

25. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προύπεμπέ τινας τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι στρογγύλοις πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαί τε καὶ ἁρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον,[1] ἥπτετο τοῦ πόνου. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπό τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύοντο, καὶ καμοῦσαι περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀπιούσαις δ' αὐταῖς αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαί τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ὅτε βιάζοιντο, ὑποχωροῦσαι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰ δαψιλής, Ἰτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λιμώττοντες ἐλῄστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι, πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφώρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς λῃστρικὰς ἐκώλυον. οἱ δ' ἔκαμνον ἤδη σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

V

CAP. V 26. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ᾔτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ

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[1] The text is almost certainly corrupt, and there is possibly a lacuna after ἔργον. The translation given follows Schw.'s Latin version, and is probably the best rendering of the words as they stand.

destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his hundred. CHAP. IV

25. Scipio, seeing him sail away, sent men forward to block up the entrance to the harbour with ships of burthen anchored at intervals so that the galleys could dart out, as through gates, at the right time. These ships were bound together by their yard arms and fastened to each other so as to form a wall. Scipio on his arrival, finding the work in progress, helped to complete it. When the Carthaginians made their attack their ships were battered by missiles from the Roman ships, from the shore, and from the walls, and they withdrew at evening discomfited. As they were retreating, the Romans pressed upon them, darting out through the open spaces, and when they were overpowered withdrawing again, and even took one ship in tow without any men and brought it to Scipio. After this both combatants went into winter quarters. The Romans received plentiful supplies by sea, but the Uticans and Carthaginians, being pinched with hunger, began to plunder merchantmen, until new galleys, sent to Scipio from Rome, blockaded the enemy and stopped the privateers, after which they were severely oppressed by hunger.

Indecisive naval engagement

V

26. This same winter, Syphax being near them, Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman CHAP. V

CAP. V τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορώμενος περί τινι ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἑκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρόα ἠφίεσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπῄεσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδών, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς· ὁ δ' ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἄμφω γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἔνθα τις αὐτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν· ὁ δ' ἀπεσείσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτόν τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τῷδε ᾔτησε παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσυλίους καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπῄεσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιούμενοί τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Σύφακος παραδιδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἕτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικός, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγούμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν

Masinissa defeats and captures Syphax

army as a reinforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Laelius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he was sighted near a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. Masinissa encountered him with joy. The battle raged fiercely around the two, and Syphax's men turned in flight and began to cross the river. Here someone wounded Syphax's own horse, which threw its rider, and Masinissa, running up, captured Syphax himself and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax's men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa's 300. Four thousand of Syphax's men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These therefore Masinissa asked Laelius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

Syphax and Sophonisba

27. After this they entered the country of the Massylians and the territory of Syphax, bringing the one again under Masinissa's rule, and winning over the other by persuasion, or, where persuasion failed, by force. Ambassadors also came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly

CAP. V μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτήν, ἐπανιὼν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτός, ἐν Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἄρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἤρετο Σύφακα· "τίς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον ὄντα μοι καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὓς ὤμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἑλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;" ὁ δ' εἶπε, "Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἧς ἐγὼ ἤρων ἐπ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρις δ' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἱκανὴ ἅπαντά τινα πεῖσαι πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. αὕτη με καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τόδε συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆσδε εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον)· φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἃ βούλεται μεταγάγῃ. οὐ γὰρ δή, μὴ τὸ γύναιόν ποτε ἕληται τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς φιλόπολις."

28. Ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἴτ' ἀληθεύων εἴτε ζηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μέν, συνετόν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπήγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷόν τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κῦρος ἐχρῆτο, Λαιλίου δ' ἀφικομένου, καὶ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι. παραιτουμένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγουμένου,

and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing apparently what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: "What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to break your faith to the gods by whom you swore and to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?" Syphax replied: "Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country, and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for now, being on your side and rid of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware of Sophonisba lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she atttached to her own country."

Death of Sophonisba

28. So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and was acquainted with the country, and took counsel with him as Cyrus did with Croesus, king of Lydia. Laelius having returned and told him that he had heard the same about Sophonisba from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter remonstrated and related what had happened in the past with regard to her, Scipio

CAP. V τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίᾳ των Ῥωμαικῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. ᾤχετο οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προύθηκεν, ἢ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἑκοῦσαν. οὐδέν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον. ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῷ δείξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἔπιε τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἥκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρᾶς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περισώζειν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

29. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἔπεμπέ τινα πρὸς Ἄννωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄννωνα κοινωνῆσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίωνι σύνεισιν Ἴβηρες ἄκοντες, οὓς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ἐς μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργει, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος

ordered him more sharply not to try to possess himself by force of any of the Roman spoils of victory, but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and brought her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he rode away. She shewed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her, since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa shewed her dead body to those of the Romans who had now come up, and then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, saying, to console him, that he was well quit of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax, and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died.

Plot to burn Scipio's camp

29. When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he himself would lend a hand if he were informed of the time before. Hanno, although he intended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp,

CAP. V στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς πιθανὸς ὢν ἐντυχεῖν ἑκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλούς, ἡμέραν τε συνθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Ἄννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ κίνδυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησμοῦ· καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἴ πού τι λάβρον ηὕρισκε πῦρ, κατέπαυεν. καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ἱερὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι διεγνώκει, 30. ἱππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίου θεράπων Ἴβηρ, ὑπονοήσας τι περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγχετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρριψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. αἴσθησις δ' ἦν Ἄννωνι μὲν ὀξεῖα πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκείμενον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀφίκετο. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἴκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν, ὡς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Ἀμίλχαρ μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἕξ, Ἄννων δ' ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δέ, χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης, ταύτην μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἱππῶνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακαύσας

who, insinuating himself in a seductive manner, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. Meantime, while Scipio was sacrificing, the victims revealed to him that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any blazing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

30. At this juncture a Spanish servant of one of the Roman knights, suspecting something of the conspiracy, pretended to be one of the accomplices and in this way learned all about it, and told his master. The latter brought him to Scipio, and he convicted the whole crowd. Scipio put them all to death and cast their bodies out of the camp. Knowledge of this coming quickly to Hanno, who was not far off, he did not come to the rendezvous, but Hasdrubal, who remained in ignorance, did. But when he saw the multitude of corpses he guessed what had happened and withdrew. And Hanno slandered him and told everybody that he had come to surrender himself to Scipio, but that the latter would not receive him. Thus Hasdrubal was made more hateful to the Carthaginians than ever. About this time Hamilcar made a sudden dash on the Roman fleet and took one galley and six ships of burthen, and Hanno made an attack upon those who were besieging Utica, but was beaten off. As the siege had lasted a long time without result, Scipio raised it and moved his engines against the town of Hippo. As he accomplished nothing there

Siege of Utica raised

CAP. V ὡς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ληζόμενος.

VI

CAP. VI 31. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοιν πάντως ἂν ἑνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἕξειν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψειν ἕως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχάς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τειχῶν ἐκτὸς ἐστάθμευον ὡς ἔτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθέντες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὁσάκις συνθοῖντο καὶ παραβαῖεν, ὅσα τε Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἔν τε Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυον ἔσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις ἐκτετρυχωμένης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδεὲς ἐπεξῄεσαν, ἐπιπλευσουμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄννωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

32. Ἐφ' οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλὴ συμβούλους ἔπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὧν ἔμελλε κρινεῖν τε

either he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others.

VI

Hannibal recalled

31. THE Carthaginians, depressed by their ill success, chose Hannibal general with absolute powers, and sent their admiral with ships to hasten his coming. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Scipio to negotiate for peace, thinking to gain one of two things, either peace or a delay until Hannibal should arrive. Scipio consented to an armistice, and having thus gained sufficient supplies for his army allowed them to send ambassadors to Rome. They did so, but the ambassadors were received there as enemies and required to lodge outside the walls. When the Senate gave them audience they asked pardon. Some of the senators adverted to the faithlessness of the Carthaginians, and told how often they had made treaties and broken them, and what injuries Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans and their allies in Spain and Italy. Others represented that the Carthaginians were not more in need of peace than themselves, Italy being exhausted by so many wars; and they showed how dangerous the future was, since Hannibal from Italy, Mago from Liguria, and Hanno from Carthage would instantly move against Scipio with large armies.

Negotiations for peace

32. The Senate therefore could not decide what to do, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he

CAP. VI καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειε συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβη, Μάγωνα μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Λιγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὁρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὤμνυεν. Μασσανάσσῃ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγῖδα χρυσῆν ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

33. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυεργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιντο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λιβύης κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπί τε ὠνὴν ἵππων περιέπεμπε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἳ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγίγνοντο Μασσανάσσου, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτεύσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους διέδωκε

should advise, and then do whatever he should deem best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty ships of war; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called "Phoenician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 1600 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans sent to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a Roman dress, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armour.

Hannibal lands at Hadrumetum

33. In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, suspecting the faithlessness of the people to their rulers, and their hastiness. Further, he did not believe that a treaty would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not long remain valid. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses, while he made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the Areacidae. He also shot down 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters, because having formerly been Syphax's men they had afterwards joined Masinissa, and he suspected them. Their horses he distributed

CAP. VI τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δε και Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνάστης ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ᾽ ἐβιάζετο. Νάρκην δ᾽ ἐνήδρευσεν ὧδε. ἀγορᾷ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ᾽ ἔδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἔπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ᾽ ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

34. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δε ὁ δῆμος ἄρτι τὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένοι, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος, οὔπω τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνεστροφότων, ἀγορὰν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ᾽ ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παραινούσης μὴ λύειν συνθήκας ἄρτι γεγενημένας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠξίου πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ᾽ ᾔτει δίκας ὡς φίλους ἁμαρτόντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἕως ἀφίκοιντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προύπεμπον δύο τριήρεσιν· ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἔπεισαν, ὁρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις, ἐπιθέσθαι

among his own troops. Mesotylus, another chieftain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Vermina, another son of Syphax, who still ruled the greater part of his father's dominions. He gained some of Masinissa's towns by surrender and some by force, and took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way. Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends, and when he thought the time had come to attack them, he sent in a large number of men carrying concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound, and then to set upon all they met, and hold the gates for him. In this way was Narce taken.

The armistice violated

34. The common people of Carthage, although the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio was still there, and their own ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio's stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of the threats of their own council, who admonished them not to violate a treaty so recently made. But the people found fault with the treaty itself, saying that it had been unfairly made, and that hunger was more unpleasant than treaty-breaking. Scipio did not deem it wise to begin war after the treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends who were in the wrong. The people even attempted to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid] rescued them from the mob and escorted them with two galleys. Some others, however, persuaded Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the promontory of Apollo, to attack Scipio's envoys when

CAP. VI τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβεών τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξήλαντο τῆς νεὼς ἤδη λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

35. Ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐκέλευον ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο· Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναυάρχῳ, πυθομένῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, "οὐδὲν ὅμοιον," ἔφη, "ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς." μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὠνείδιζε τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς οὐκ εὖ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένῃ, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοί τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν μεθ' ἧς ἔχει στρατιᾶς.

36. Ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολεμου, Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου τὸν στρατὸν Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ οὐδ' ὣς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει· Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἶργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐποροῦντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

the escort left them. This he did, and some of them were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, but by using their oars got just in time into the harbour of their own camp and sprang from the ship when it was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners.

35. When the Romans at home learned these things they ordered the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were still there treating for peace, to depart immediately as enemies. They accordingly set sail, and were driven by a tempest to Scipio's camp. To his admiral, who asked what he should do with them, Scipio said: "We shall not imitate Carthaginian bad faith; send them away unharmed." When the Carthaginian Senate learned this they chided the people for the contrast between their behaviour and Scipio's, and advised them even now to beg Scipio to adhere to the agreement and to accept reparation for the Carthaginian wrong-doing. But the people had been finding fault with the Senate itself a long time for their ill success, because it had not sufficiently foreseen what was for their advantage, and being stirred up by demagogues and excited by vain hopes, they summoned Hannibal and his army.

Hannibal sent for

B.C. 202

36. Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal accordingly had his sentence repealed, and delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he did not even then dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Scipio then blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while they were poorly supplied from the land, which was un-

CAP. VI ἀσπόρου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἱππομαχία γίγνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν ᾗ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτει· καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἕως αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν ἰσχυρῶς τε ἀπορούμενον καὶ περιμένοντα ἀγορὰν φερομένην, νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμον χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας αὐτήν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμος ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβών, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐζώγρησεν ἑτέρους τοσούσδε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἧκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

37. Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναιτο διαθέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβῆς καὶ παιδεύσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔτι οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀνοητοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἁμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδούμενός τε καὶ φίλος ὢν ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς αὖθις ἐς τοιάσδε συνθήκας ὥστε Καρχηδονίους τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίοις ἀγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἡρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν ἣν ἂν ὁρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποινήν τε τοῦ ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀέλπτου περιεσώζετο,

sown owing to the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed about 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

He proposes a renewal of the armistice

37. Hannibal, being reduced to extremity for want of provisions and considering how he might arrange for the present, sent messengers to Masinissa reminding him of his early life and education at Carthage, and asking that he would persuade Scipio to renew the treaty, saying that the former infractions of it were the work of the mob, and of people more stupid than the mob. Masinissa, who had in fact been brought up and educated at Carthage, and who had a high respect for the dignity of the city, and still had many friends there, besought Scipio to comply, and brought them to an agreement again on the following terms: That the Carthaginians should surrender the men and ships which they had captured bringing provisions to the Romans, also all plunder, or the value of it, which Scipio would estimate, and pay 1000 talents as a penalty for the wrong done. These were the terms. An armistice was concluded until the Carthaginians should be made acquainted with the details; and thus Hannibal was saved in an unexpected way.

VII

CAP. VII 38. Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τήν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγουμένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος· ὃ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαί τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐθελῆσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῷδε προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαί τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. βοῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἐζήτουν Ἀσδρούβαν περιιόντες. ὁ δ' ἔφθασε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὑτόν· οἱ δὲ κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν ἐξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἄννωνος, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἀνῄρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.

39. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβᾳ λῦσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρῖναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἔλυσε τὰς ἀνοχάς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσὼν εἷλε, καὶ

VII

CHAP. VII

Riots in Carthage

38. The Carthaginian council warmly welcomed the agreement and exhorted the people to adhere to its terms, explaining all their evil plight and their immediate want of soldiers, money, and provisions. But the people, with the usual folly of a mob, thought that their generals had made this arrangement for their own private ends, so that, relying upon the Romans, they might hold the power in their own country. They said that Hannibal was doing now what had been done not long before by Hasdrubal, who had betrayed his camp to the enemy by night, and a little later wanted to surrender his own person to Scipio, having approached him for that purpose, and was now concealed in the city. Thereupon there was a great clamour and tumult, and some of them left the assembly and went in search of Hasdrubal. He had anticipated them by taking refuge in his father's tomb, where he destroyed himself with poison. But they pulled his corpse out even from thence, cut off his head, put it on a pike, and carried it about the city. Thus was Hasdrubal first banished unjustly, next falsely slandered by Hanno, and then thus driven to his death by the Carthaginians, and thus loaded with indignities after his death.

Second armistice broken

39. Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to decide the war by a battle as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio at once attacked and took the great city of Parthus

CAP. VII πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ο δὲ ἀνεζεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκοπους ἐπιπέμψας, οὓς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβέ τε καὶ οὐκ ἔκτεινεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἀννίβᾳ περὶ ἑκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἠξίωσεν ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθείη, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῖεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νήσων ὅσων ἄρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίους. ὁ δὲ "πολύ," ἔφη, "κέρδος Ἀννίβᾳ τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος." καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπειλησάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀνεζεύγνυον ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὑτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

40. Πόλις δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυὴς ἐς στρατοπεδείαν, ὃν ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἔπεμπέ τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὀλίγον καὶ θολερὸν ἔπινον ἐπιμόχθως, ἀθεράπευτοί τε καὶ ἄσιτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, having sent three spies into the Roman camp. Scipio captured them, and did not put them to death, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army being drilled. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter asked for a further parley with Scipio, and when it was granted said that the Carthaginians were discontented with the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. "Hannibal's escape from Italy would be a great gain to him," said the other, "if he could in addition obtain these terms from Scipio." He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp.

Preparation for battle

40. The town of Cilla was in the neighbourhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, conceived the idea of seizing this hill, sent a detachment forward to mark out his camp, and at once started to march forward as though he were already in possession of it. But Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, he was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without

CAP. VII ἔνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἅμα ἕῳ κεκμηκόσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ' ἤχθετο μέν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασσεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. ἵστη δὲ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερώτατα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες· τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντῃ καὶ σφενδονῆται Μαυρούσιοί τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τούτων δ' ὄπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες. τρίτοι δ' ὅσοι ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἵποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον δεδιόσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἡ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

41. Οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἕτερος δυνάστης ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ ὅδε τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβᾳ, λόχους δ' ὀρθίους ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχερῶς διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ προμάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οἳ ξύλα παχέα διπήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρωμένα, ἔμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς

removing their arms. Scipio, observing this, moved against them at dawn while they were exhausted with marching, with want of sleep, and want of water. Hannibal was troubled, since he did not wish to join battle in that plight. Yet he saw that if he should remain there his army would suffer severely from want of water, while if he should retreat he would revive the spirits of the enemy, who would press him hard and would inflict severe loss on him. For these reasons it was necessary for him to fight. He speedily put in battle array about 50,000 men and eighty elephants. He placed the elephants all along the front line at intervals, in order to strike terror into the enemy's ranks. Next to them he placed the third part of his army, composed of Celts and Ligurians, and mixed with them everywhere Moorish and Balearic archers and slingers. Behind these was his second line, composed of Carthaginians and Africans. The third line consisted of Italians who had followed him from their own country, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, since they had the most to apprehend from defeat. The cavalry were placed on the wings. In this way Hannibal arranged his forces.

41. Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines, and placed all his cohorts lengthwise, so that the cavalry might easily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes about two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, to throw at the oncoming elephants by hand,

CAP. VII ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγελτο δ' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιντο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετετάχατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· τοὺς δ' ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κερασιν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδμὴν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἑτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείνειαν οἱ πεζοί. παρ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπηρέτης ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Ὀκταουιῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἤστην αὐτός τε καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ὥπλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισπέρχων ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὄψει τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονδήκεσαν ὁσάκις ἔλυον τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον τῶνδε τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλειόνων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, πόσῳ ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζέ

like catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts, and to run round and continually hurl javelins at them, and to get near them and hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry; but his Numidian horse he stationed on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. And as the Italian horse were not so, he placed them in the extreme rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed, Laelius commanding the right wing, and Octavius the left, while both he and Hannibal took their stations in the centre, out of respect for each other, having a body of horse with them, in order to send reinforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had himself armed in Sicily.

Speeches of Hannibal and Scipio

42. When everything was ready each general rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the sight of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended every time they violated the treaties. He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valour, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces

CAP. VII τε καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς ὀλιγότητος· ὁ δ᾽ Ἀννίβας τῶν τε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτόθεν ἑστὼς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρους ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάτερος τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερεπῆρεν, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄρχειν ἁπάντων ὧν ἐπεκράτουν, Σκιπίων δ᾽ ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἀναχώρησις ἔστιν ἀσφαλής, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὔκλεια.

43. Οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνῄεσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ᾽ ἀντηχεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατῆρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων· περιθέοντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἱππεῖς ἐσηκόντιζον ἀθρόως, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας· οἱ δ᾽ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιᾶσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὁπλίσεως, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἕως ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικούς, ὀπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ

and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, and of their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over armies composed entirely of Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, from where he stood, the smallness of the enemy's force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would for ever rule over all the vanquished. Scipio said that there was not even any safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labours, a speedy return home, and glory forever after.

Battle of Zama

43. Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal first ordered the trumpets to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. But the Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them, until being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their riders took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings; but those in the centre trampled down the Roman infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armour, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were

CAP. VII κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους, ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτός τε αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἵδε ὑπεχώρουν.

44. Καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρᾶς θηριων, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίγνετο μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην· ὀξέως δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερῶς ἑκατέροις. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐπικουρεῖν μετ᾽ ἐπιλέκτων· Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ λαιὸν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἅμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατιδὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρῆγε μεθ᾽ ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγῶνα συνιόντων, ἔρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρῳ λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ ὀξέος ὄντος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

45. Μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὥρμων ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοῦ, Σκιπίων μὲν Ἀννίβου τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀννίβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου.

in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run round and shoot at the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the foremost elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and inflicted wounds upon the elephants from all sides, so that these also withdrew.

44. The field being cleared of these beasts the battle was now waged by men and horses only. The Roman right wing, where Laelius commanded, put the opposing Numidians to flight, and Masinissa struck down their prince, Massathes, with a dart, but Hannibal quickly came to their rescue and restored the line of battle. But on the left wing, where Octavius commanded and the hostile Celts and Ligurians were stationed, both sides were in difficulties. Scipio sent the tribune Thermus thither with a reinforcement of picked men, but Hannibal, after rallying his left wing, flew to the assistance of the Ligurians and Celts, bringing up at the same time his second line of Carthaginians and Africans. Scipio, perceiving this, moved parallel to him with another body of troops. When the two greatest generals of the world thus met, in hand to hand fight, there was, on the part of the soldiers of each, a brilliant emulation and reverence for their commanders, and no lack of zeal on either side, the two armies fighting and cheering vehemently and keenly.

Personal encounters of Hannibal and Scipio

45. As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers and rushed upon each other in order by personal combat to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time, and Scipio pierced Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal hit Scipio's

CAP. VII καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὀπίσω τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβὰς ἕτερον ἵππον αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἱππέα τὸν ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἧκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον· οὐδὲ παριππεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὖθις ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλιας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔτι καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίσας Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε διώκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο αὖθις ἐς μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφίσι παρόντων οὔτε ἀκοντίων ἔτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιρούντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ καὶ φεύγουσιν εἵποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

46. Καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἱππέων Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστώς, προσδραμὼν ἠξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πείσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκουσιν, ἐλπίσας ἐργάσεσθαί τινα παλινδίωξιν. πρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἔτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν Μασσανάσσου καὶ

horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, carried Scipio towards the rear, until, mounting another, he again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him a second time and struck the horseman next him. At this juncture, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general fighting as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and had not been moved, and led them into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans, who were pursuing in disorder. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As, however, their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. There especially great slaughter ensued and terrible wounds were received, accompanied by the vaunts of the slayers and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Italians routed these also and followed them in their flight, and in this brilliant manner the war was decided.

Hannibal's defeat and flight

46. Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal

CAP. VII Ἀννίβου συνεστώτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠκόντισε βαλών, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥρμα, τόν τε ἐπελαύνοντά οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέα βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἓν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὖθις οὐδ' ὣς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππέα καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἕτερον δ' ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἔδεισε περὶ τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο· καὶ ηὗρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὖθις ἐπὶ ἵππου φερόμενον ἑτέρου, τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὅ τε ἀγὼν ἦν ἴσος αὖθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρτερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἑκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπί τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κἀκείνους ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἑκόντες καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ᾗπερ ἑώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ τύχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτούς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.

47. Ὁ δ' ἐπανήει πεφραγμένος Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ του λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ

took place. These too rushed fiercely upon each other, and Masinissa drove his spear into Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal then, as before, wounded his antagonist's horse. Masinissa, being thrown, sprang towards Hannibal on foot, and struck and killed a horseman who was advancing towards him in front of the others. He received the darts of the rest in his shield—made of elephant's hide—one of which he pulled out and hurled at Hannibal, but missed him again, killing, as Scipio had done, the horseman next to him. While he was pulling out another, he was wounded in the arm, and withdrew from the fight for a brief space. When Scipio learned this, he feared for Masinissa and hastened to his relief, but he found that the latter had bound up his wound and was returning to the fight on a fresh horse. Then the battle was again doubtful and very severe, the soldiers on either side having the utmost reverence for their commanders, until Hannibal, discovering a body of Spanish and Celtic troops on a hill near by, dashed over to them to bring them into the fight. Those who were still engaged, not knowing the cause of his going, thought that he had fled. Accordingly, they abandoned the fight of their own accord, and broke into disorderly rout, not following after Hannibal, but helter skelter. This band having been dispersed, the Romans thought that the fight was over and pursued them in a disorderly way, in their turn not perceiving Hannibal's purpose.

47. Presently Hannibal returned protected by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle which considerably out-

CAP. VII λόφου καταβεβηκότων· ὅθεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερῶς περιεγίγνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀεί τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νὺξ ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ᾽ εἴκοσιν ἱππέων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ᾗ ὄνομα Θῶν, ἔνθα Βρεττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὧν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἱππέως, ᾧ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπίστευεν. σταδίους δ᾽ ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἧκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητόν, ἔνθα τι μέρος ἦν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπων δ᾽ ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

VIII

CAP. VIII 48. Σκιπιων δε νίκην ἀριστην νενικηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπίμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοι, χρυσίου δ᾽ ἐς Ῥώμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀργυριου δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐλέφαντα εἰργασ-

numbered those who had come down from the hill, so that he overcame them without difficulty. When this last effort had failed, Hannibal fled, having now manifestly abandoned all hope. Many horsemen pursued him, and among others Masinissa, although suffering from his wound, pressed him hard, striving eagerly to take him prisoner and deliver him to Scipio. But night came to his rescue and under cover of darkness, with twenty horsemen who had alone been able to keep pace with him, he took refuge in a town named Thon. Here he found many Bruttian and Spanish horsemen who had fled after the defeat. Fearing the Spaniards as impulsive barbarians, and apprehending that the Bruttians, as they were Scipio's countrymen, might deliver him up in order to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy, he fled secretly with one horseman in whom he had full confidence. Having accomplished about 3000 stades in two nights and days, he arrived at the seaport of Hadrumetum, where a part of his army had been left to guard his supplies. Here he began to collect forces from the adjacent country and recover those who had escaped from the recent engagement, and to prepare arms and engines of war.

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Spoils of victory

48. Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself for sacrifice, and burned with his own hands, as is the custom of the Roman generals, the less valuable spoils of the enemy. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory,

CAP. VIII μένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐχειροῦτο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Λιβύῃ μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τοῦτ᾽ ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δ᾽ ἔτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ᾽ ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἴβηρες ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

49. Οὔπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ξενολογοῦντι ἔτι Κελτούς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δέ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἁλόντων καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων, στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἵππους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἔπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουιον, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἧσσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος· οἳ τὸ κηρύκειον ὑψηλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῴρας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἱκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ προκαθ-

and the most distinguished of the captives in ships, and Laelius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valour, and crowned Masinissa again. He also visited the cities and received their submission. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa still more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa.

An embassy to Scipio

49. Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was still collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his mercenaries for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. He had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal's defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the leaders were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore the herald's staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their

CAP. VIII ήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελευόντων ὅ τι θέλοιεν, Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν· 50. "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἄννωνι τῷδε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἔμφρονες, καθαρεύειν ἁμαρτημάτων ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε· τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὓς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρὶς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἁπάντων, οἵ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ᾔτησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὤμνυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφῃρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπειθείας ἢ εὐβουλίας, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἣ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἑκούσιον ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶνδε ὀμνύναι τε καὶ ὁρκοῦν πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔτι δ' ὄντων τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἑκόντας ἁμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἔβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑμῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ

business in high state. They threw themselves on the ground weeping, and when the attendants had lifted them up and bade them say what they wished, Hasdrubal Eriphus spoke as follows:

Speech of Hasdrubal Eriphus

50. "For myself, Romans, and for Hanno here, and for all sensible Carthaginians, let me say that we are guiltless of the wrongs which you lay at our door. For when our country, driven by hunger, did violence to your legates, we rescued them and sent them back to you. You ought not either to condemn the whole people of Carthage who so recently sought peace, and when it was granted eagerly took the oath to support it. But cities are easily swayed towards the worse, because the masses are always controlled by what is pleasing to their ears. We too have suffered from this, having been unable either to persuade or to restrain the multitude by reason of those who slandered us at home and who have prevented us from speaking freely to you. Romans, do not judge us by the standard of your own discipline and good counsel. If any one esteems it a crime to have yielded to the persuasions of these rabble-rousers, consider the hunger and the necessity which suffering imposed upon us. For it could not have been a deliberate intention on the part of our people, first to ask for peace, and give such a large sum of money to obtain it, and deliver up all their ships of war except a few, and surrender the bulk of their territory, and send ambassadors to Rome to give and receive oaths, and then wantonly to violate the agreement before our embassy had returned. Surely some god was our ruin, and the tempest that drove your supplies into Carthage; and besides the tempest, hunger carried us away, for people who are

CAP. VIII λιμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φρονῆσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλήθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

51. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις. ἐφ' ᾗ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχούντων ἔλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν αἴσθωνται διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς ἐχθὲς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πόλις, ἡ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἱππικῷ, καὶ ὑπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης τοσῆσδε ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφήριστον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὧν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προπεπονθόσι κακῶς. ἃ χρὴ θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ τύχης ἄξια πράσσειν, τάς τε τοῦ δαιμονίου μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα ᾖ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιέπαινα πάντας.

in want of everything do not form the best judgments respecting other people's property. A disordered mob, stricken with calamity, cannot be expected to account for its actions.

51. "But if even so you consider us guilty, not unfortunate, we confess our fault and for this very reason entreat you. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. Entreaty makes the fortunate more ready to extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were powerful enough to wrong others. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for a very long time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her elephants, her horses, her subjects, all of which she surrenders to you, but in yourselves, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which presides over them, and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may both be blameless before the gods and also win the praises of all mankind.

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52. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἳ τοσήνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἁμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγνῶναι. βεβαιοτέρους τε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς νενουθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδονίοις ὑμᾶς ὠμότητα καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἑτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐστιν. οὐδ' εὐκλεές, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσήνδε καθαιρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ περισώζειν. ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἀξίωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἣ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑμᾶς ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἂν ἄρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσὸν λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους."

53. Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ πολύ. ὡς δ' ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὧδε. "ἐστὲ μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἁμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι

52. "There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their prudence, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. For the misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from helplessness, while to the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. You are the better judges of your own interests, but we, with regard to our preservation, remind you of two things above all, the ancient dignity of the empire of Carthage and your own universal moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. As for the terms, if after all you grant us peace, it is superfluous for us to discuss them, since we place ourselves entirely in your hands."

Scipio's reply

53. At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: "You do not deserve any pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and now finally even abused our envoys in such a public and lawless manner that you cannot deny or dispute that you are worthy of

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μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μηδ' ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἄν, εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρεσπονδηκότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἁμαρτόντων, ἥ τε πόλις ἀπέλυσε, κἀγὼ καταχθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέπεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς καταγιγνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ' ἅ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἃ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

54. Δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἢν τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδῶτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἡρπάσατε πρῴην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμήν, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ· ἐν δ' ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγωνα χρὴ Λιγύων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὅμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ μήτε ξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἔτι, μήτε Μασσανάσσῃ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπό γε τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσην ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἴχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Λιβύην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι

the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? You take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. But we will never imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. You ought, condemning yourselves, to consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

Scipio's conditions of peace

54. "We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge in case of doubt, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions shall be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Within sixty, Mago shall evacuate Liguria, and your garrisons shall be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phoenician trenches and their hostages shall be surrendered. You shall pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboic talents a year for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You shall retain your city and as much territory inside the Phoenician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You shall remain friends of

CAP. VIII φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἢν ἀρέσκῃ ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δέ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Λιβύης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἢν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ῥώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὅμηρα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παῖδας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὅμηρα."

IX

CAP. IX 55. Ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἁπάντων, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἔχουσι, τοσήνδε οὖσαν, ἠπείθουν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τὸν σῖτον οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἠπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ' ἔγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἤδη πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἧκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιότων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ

Rome and be her allies on land and sea. All this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages, whomever I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages."

IX

CHAP. IX

Hannibal advises acceptance of the terms of peace

55. When Scipio had finished speaking the envoys bore his conditions to Carthage, where the people debated them in the Assembly for several days. The chief men thought that it was best to accept the offer, and not, by refusing a part, to run the risk of losing all; but the vulgar crowd, not considering the instant peril rather than the enormous loss of property, refused compliance. They were angry that their rulers, in time of famine, should send provisions away to the Romans instead of supplying their own citizens during the armistice, and they banded together, threatening to plunder and burn the houses of every one of these men. Finally, they decided to take counsel with Hannibal, who now had 6000 infantry and 500 cavalry stationed at the town of Marthama. He came and, although moderate citizens feared lest a man so fond of war should excite the people to renewed exertions, solemnly advised them to accept peace. But the people,

CAP. IX τόνδε ὑπ' ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἠπείλει, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογνόντας.

56. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σῖτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου σεσωρεῦσθαι, ὁλκάδας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἑκόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνεμός τε καὶ χειμὼν τὰς ναῦς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογνόντες ἁπάντων ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔπεμπε τοὺς συμβουλεύσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκείμενα. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβών, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ὕπατον ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἑτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.

57. Οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἥδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἣ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν· οἱ σύμβουλοι δ' ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἔτι σὺν ὀργῇ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἤδη, καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὑπαναστὰς δέ τις τῶν

mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves.

56. The remaining Carthaginians, hearing that a large quantity of provisions had been stored by Hannibal at a certain post, sent a number of transports and warships thither, being resolved, if they could obtain food, to march out and endure whatever fate decreed, rather than voluntarily to be slaves of the Romans. But after a storm had shattered their ships, despairing of everything, they accused the Gods of conspiring against them, assented to the agreement with Scipio, and sent an embassy to Rome. Scipio also sent men to advise the ratification of the agreement. It is said that he made this proposal both because he thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city and because he had heard that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, was waiting to succeed him in his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself.

B.C. 201

Another embassy to Rome

57. There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them in the past, and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But the senators differed as to what should be done. Some were still exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians, while others now had pity on them, wishing to behave nobly themselves in the hour of another's misfortune. One of Scipio's

Debate in the Senate

CAP. IX Σκιπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν· “ οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὠμότερα πράξωμεν, οἳ Καρχηδονίοις ὠμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν· ἃ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον, ἣν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἣ καὶ νήσων ἦρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δέ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστά ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερώτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περί τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπονώτατον, ὃ πάντας ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμούς.

Views of Scipio's friends

friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men—lest it be said that we, who charge the Carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and while always exercising moderation in small matters neglect it in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot even escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, a city which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were combative it was necessary to contend against them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as most wild beasts spare fallen bodies. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the Gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, it is in itself the most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were fighting gloriously for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions they blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a thing capable of depriving man of all his rational faculties.

The counsels of clemency and prudence

CAP. IX 58. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων (οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον), οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τῶνδε παραβῆναι· ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιοῦντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προῆλθον, εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ἡμῖν τῶνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τούς τε αὖ μετ' ἐκείνους περιοικοῦντας ἡμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ Καμπανούς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς σπονδὰς ὕβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυνιτῶν γένος τρὶς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρονῆσαν, ἔτεσι δ' ὀγδοήκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἔναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβᾳ προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οἳ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνῃ ζημιώσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νουθετεῖν.

59. Τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν φύσιν, ᾗ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη; δι' αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔτι φειδοῦς ἀξία. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀλλ' ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὧν νῆές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς

58. "I will say nothing in defence of the Carthaginians; they do not deserve it. Nor do I forget that they violated other treaties before those which are now under review. But what our fathers did in like circumstances (by which means they arrived at this summit of fortune) I will recall to your minds, though you know it already. Although all the neighbouring peoples round about us often revolted and were continually breaking treaties, our ancestors did not disdain them, neither the Latins, nor the Etruscans, nor the Sabines. Afterwards, when the Aequi, the Volsci, the Campanians, also our neighbours, and various other peoples of Italy, committed breaches of their treaties, our fathers met them calmly. Moreover, the Samnite race, after betraying friendship and agreements three times and waging the most desperate wars against us for eighty years, were not destroyed, nor were those others who called Pyrrhus into Italy. Nor did we destroy those Italians who lately joined forces with Hannibal, not even the Bruttians, who remained with him to the last. We only took from them a part of their lands and allowed them to keep the remainder, considering it at once righteous and expedient to our prosperity not to exterminate whole races, but to bring them into a better state of mind.

59. "Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the possession of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations, almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment?

CAP. IX δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οἷς ἰσχύουσι, παραδιδόασι, καὶ τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἥρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν ἔτι λιμώττοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Σκιπίων ὁ πολεμήσας κριτής. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶνδε καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαινῶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεταβολήν, οἷς εἰσὶν ἔτι νῆες, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλαὶ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ ἤδη στρατιὰν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἑτέρους ἄγει πολλούς, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλούς. καὶ ἢν ἀπογνῶσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀφειδῶς ἅπασι χρήσονται. χαλεπώτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονόν ἐστιν.

60. Ἃ καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ βραδυνόντων συνθήσεται. εἰκὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τάδε ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον, ὃς οὐδ' ἐς Λιβύην ἡμᾶς ὁρμωμένους παρώξυνέ τε, καὶ

They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phoenician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I myself praise Scipio for the magnitude and multitude of these things, and you I ask to spare them considering the enviousness of heaven and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants. Hannibal, that most skilful captain, still has an army; Mago is leading another considerable force from the Celts and Ligurians; Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes; and they have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these assurances recklessly. And nothing is more dangerous than recklessness in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and jealous.

60. "It seems that Scipio too was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, adding that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose that in these matters too his judgment is better than ours, and that, being on the spot, he sees more than we. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that unique general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favour of that either; and when he could not obtain

CAP. IX στρατιὰν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ῥᾳθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα μὲν ἡγεῖται καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δ' αὖθις ὡς ἀποστῆναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερόν ἐστι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὕστερον δ' ἀεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἅλις δὲ κακῶν ἕξουσι καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἵ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἀεί.

61. Εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδέξεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσειν, τί καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἣν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ ναῦς ἥρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσίν

an army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved for us a success far beyond our expectations. And it is this which is so astonishing, that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of conscience all the more since their lack of conscience has brought about their fall. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. Now they will fight with desperation, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbours, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there to watch over them.

61. "If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio's command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that even the favours of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it—supposing we do take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having

CAP. IX τε θεῶν φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσσῃ δ' ἔχειν δώσομεν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρὴ στερροποιεῖν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀμέτρως, ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔριν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίων κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ' ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ' ἡ φυλάξουσα στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει· πολλῆς γάρ, ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις, δεησόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσούσδε Νομάδας; οἳ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἰσχυόντων ἀεὶ δεινὰ πείσονται, ἢν δ' ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἔσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ ἐπίφθονοι, χώραν τοσήνδε καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχοντες. ἃ καὶ αὐτά μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις. πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ."

62. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου Λέντλου συγγενὴς τοῦ τότε ὄντος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαδέξεσθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως· "τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρήσιμον· καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ' ἡμῖν καιρὸς ἐς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστι τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἑκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ' ἀμετρίας μοι

regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him inordinately strong, but it should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Shall we collect rent from their land? The expense of military protection would eat up the rent, for we shall need a strong force, being surrounded by numerous tribes, all of them barbarians. Are we going to plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? If the barbarians are too strong for them, they will have no peace, while if they overpower them, they will hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so great and so much more fruitful than ours. These are the very things, it seems to me, which Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general."

Views of Scipio's rivals

62. When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio's successor, replied thus: "In war, gentlemen, that which is expedient is alone advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power in time since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and poor, and before they again accumulate strength and resources. Not that I would evade the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of

CAP. IX δοκῶ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οἳ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχωσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς αἰδὼς οὔτε λόγος ὅρκων· οὓς οὗτος ἀξιοῖ περισώζειν διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν, ἵνα δῶσί ποτε δίκην τῆς ἀσεβείας οἳ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἀεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ παρώρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἔδρων. ὧν τὰ ἀλλότρια ὑμῖν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἵνα εἰδῆτε πάντας ἐφησθησομένους Καρχηδονίοις, εἰ δίκην δοῖεν.

63. Οὗτοι Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηριας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἔνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὗτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπήκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ λαβόντες, καὶ ὀμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεῖα συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεῖα ἀπέπνιξαν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπιόντα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀχερρανῶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχωσαν. Μᾶρκόν τε Κορνήλιον ὕπατον ἡμέτερον ὅρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Λιβύην ἐκ Σικε-

want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity are unjust and insolent to everybody, but are suppliants in adversity, and then, if successful, break treaties as soon as they are made. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths—these people whom this gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the Gods and the censures of men. I think that the Gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish at last for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, in dealing with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking oaths, and committing outrageous and savage acts. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment.

The crimes of Carthage

63. "The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and then filled up the wells with earth. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick, and then seized and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa

CAP. IX λίας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ Ῥῆγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτούς. ὅσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεύων ἢ παρορκῶν ἔς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τάς τε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένους κατακαίνων, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὅτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἄστη. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύραις ἐπέβαινον, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις μονομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ὤμνυον, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ τὰς ναῦς ἡμῶν διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδεον. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα περίεστιν.

64. Τούτοις οὖν τίς ἐστὶν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ' ἑτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ' ἥμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφη Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἡ δεξιά. ποία; τίς σπονδή, τίς ὅρκος ὃν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν; μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησίν, αὐτούς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὠμοτητα, φησίν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὠμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ' ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν

with twenty-two of our ships. They put another general of ours, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, by stratagem and by perjury, against our cities and armies, and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. They cast our men, whom they had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. They had them trodden under foot by elephants. They made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and beseeching us, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty.

Call for vengeance

64. "What pity, therefore, or what moderation is due from others to these Carthaginians, who have never exercised moderation or clemency towards anyone, and who, as Scipio says, would have expunged the very name of Rome if they had vanquished us? But the right hand, he says, is a sure pledge. How so? What treaty, what oath, have they not trampled under foot? We should not imitate them, this gentleman says. What treaty can we violate when we have not yet made any? But we should not imitate their cruelty, he says. Ought we then to make the most cruel people in the world our friend and allies? Neither of these things is desirable. Let them surrender at discretion, as is the

CAP. IX αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νενικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, σκεψόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. και ὅ τι ἂν δῶμεν, εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι. διαφέρει δὲ τούτοιν ἑκάτερον ὧδε. μέχρι μὲν συντίθενται, παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι, πρόφασιν ἀεί τινα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἠλαττωμένοι· τὰ δ' ἀμφίλογα εὐπροφάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβήσεται, ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὅ τι ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἑτέρως δοκεῖ, τὰς γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν· εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται Καρχηδονίοις χωρὶς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίοις οὖσι περὶ τῶνδε κρῖναι, τὴν γνώμην εἶπον, ἣν νομίζω συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει."

65. Τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἶπεν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα παρ' ἑκάστου ψῆφον ᾔτει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον. ἐγίγνοντο οὖν αἱ συνθῆκαι, τρίται αἵδε, Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐναγαγέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὕνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε ὡς ἀρκοῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφελέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἳ καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονισμὸν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μή ποτε ἐξυβρίσειαν

custom of the vanquished, and as many others have surrendered to us, and then we will see what we will do. Whatever we accord to them they will then take in the light of a favour and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that they were overreached, for doubtful points always provide plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gift bestowed upon them by us. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, why did he send word to you at all? For my part, I have given to you, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand, the opinion which I think will be for the advantage of the city."

The Senate ratifies Scipio's treaty

65. After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio was thought to have urged this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbour and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless

B.C. 201

CAP. IX ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ. καὶ τόδε οὕτω φρονῆσαι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐξεῖπε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξυμμένοις κατὰ Ῥόδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε θριαμβεύων, ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

66. Καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἅπαντες, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταί τε καὶ λαφύρων ἅμαξαι, πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα. βόες δ᾿ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε λευκοί, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ᾿ ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδοῦχοι φοινικοῦς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένοι τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσῆν ἐπικείμενοι· ἴσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ᾠδῆς καὶ μετ᾿ ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι (οἶμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δέ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδήρη περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ᾿ αὐτῷ θυμιατηρίων πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασιν, ἐφ᾿ ἅρματος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἔστεπται μὲν ἀπὸ

by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly declared to the Romans when he reproached them for undue severity towards the Rhodians. When Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a triumphal entry into Rome far more splendid than that of any of his predecessors.

Scipio's return

66. The form of the triumph (which the Romans still continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind: then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of harpists and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march in regular order, keeping step with song and dance. They are called Lydi because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak reaching to the feet and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were dancing in triumph over the enemy. Next came a number of incense-bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious

Form of Roman triumph

CAP. IX χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ’ ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων, καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ’ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηόρων ἑκατέρωθεν ἤθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιὰ κατά τε ἴλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα· οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπίκεινται. καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν· ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἱστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

X

CAP. X 67. Καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ’ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος σπονδάς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπέβαινε γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένῃ ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ’ ἔπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο συμπράσ-

stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga inwoven with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on the trace-horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armour-bearers. After these came the army arranged in squadrons and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple, according to custom.

X

CHAP. X

67. Thus the second war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty concerning Carthage itself, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent

Masinissa's depredations

CAP. X σειν ὅσα δύναιντο Μασσανάσσῃ. οὕτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονιων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συνθῆκαι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἳ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδὼν εἰρηνεύουσα ὁμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἔκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

68. Καὶ εὐθύς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωζμάιον, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ' ἑκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἄννων, τῶν δ' αἱρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀννίβας ὁ ψὰρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ᾧ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων· οἳ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἑτέρων Ἰβήρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιιόντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνουμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβυας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπῆλθον ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὁμοίως εἴρητο Μασσανάσσῃ βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἵδε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ ὅσα προειλήφει, μετὰ τέχνης, ὧδε. εἶπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἤκουσαν, ἵνα μή τι ὡς ἐν δίκῃ Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας

arbitrators, but told them to favour Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the territory of the Carthaginians, and they made a treaty with him also which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with unbroken peace, advanced greatly in population and power by reason of the fertility of her soil and her advantageous position on the coast.

B.C. 193

Factions in Carthage

68. Very soon (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favoured Masinissa. Each had leaders of eminent reputation and bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction: Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favoured Masinissa; and Hamilcar surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country), to attack the subjects of Masinissa, who were encamped on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty. and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians, Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they stood between the two litigants and

B.C. 182

CAP. X διέστησαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐς διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠμφισβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἣν Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ' οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψειν ἐς δίαιταν, διέτριψαν δὲ ἕως εἴκασαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρθαι.

69. Καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἳ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἠξίουν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἁπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπώπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ᾔδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρῄζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὅσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήεσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ηὔξητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔφραζον οὐ ζήλου μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσῆσδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὔ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσεσθαι πρὶν ἐξελεῖν Καρχηδόνα. ὧν ἡ βουλὴ

stretched out their hands, and this was their way of commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate the matter, but they delayed until they conjectured that the Carthaginian interests were almost entirely ruined. B.C. 174

B.C. 157

The visit of Cato

69. They then sent the envoys, and among others Cato. These went to the disputed territories and asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was seizing more than his share and who always had confidence in the Romans, consented; but the Carthaginians were suspicious, because they knew that the former ambassadors had given unfair decisions. They said therefore that there was no need to have a dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, and that they only complained about transgressions of it. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what valuable resources it possessed. They entered the city too and saw how greatly it had increased in power and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before; and when they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, a great and hostile city, near at hand, and growing thus easily. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed.

CAP. X πυνθανομένη ἔκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔχρῃζε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ γνώμῃ λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιοῦν, Καρχηδόνα ἐᾶν, ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε Ῥωμαίων ἐκδιαιτωμένων ἤδη.

70. Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήνεγκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαί ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικίψαν, ἀξιῶν καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ὁ βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν δῆμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύσειαν. Γολόσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπανιόντι Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσδε ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὀρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις, Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευον. καὶ πλησιάσασιν αὐτοῖς Ἄσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τι τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτομολίαν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς

When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war, but still needed a pretext, and meanwhile concealed its determination. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must not exist. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion, that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her.

B.C. 152

War with Masinissa

70. The democratic faction in Carthage drove out the leaders of the party favouring Masinissa, to the number of about forty, and also carried a vote of banishment, and made the people swear that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished men took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the captain of auxiliaries shut them out, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. As Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city horse under Hasdrubal, who was then their captain of auxiliaries, marched against Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa's lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this

B.C. 150

CAP. X ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγων, ἕως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπορία. τότε δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς· ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

71. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ἥξειν, Σκιπίων δ' ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἑλών, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Λευκόλλῳ Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παίδων τισὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἕῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη, ἱππεύων δ' ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνὸν τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος· εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντων μακροβιώτατοι. αἴτιον δ' ἴσως ὅ τε χειμὼν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὑφ' οὗ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαῖον ὥσπερ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἥδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν ἀεί. ὀλίγος τε ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἁπλῆ τε καὶ εὐτελής. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβὰς ἵππου διεκόσμει τὸν στρατόν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλῆθος· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῷδε πολλοὶ προσελη-

accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa, laying a trap for him, retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his camp in the open plain, but Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position.

A battle with Masinissa

71. They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving under Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, came to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and are the longest-lived of all those long-lived nations. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer is not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and India; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always working and in the open air, while they drink very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition, its numbers being great, since on his side also many recruits had flocked in from the

CAP. X λύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις ὕστερον, ἀγῶσι συνενεχθεὶς ποικίλοις, οὔποτε ὧδε ἡσθῆναι· μόνον γὰρ ἔφη τόνδε τὸν πόνον ἄφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἕνδεκα. ἔλεγέ τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θέαν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθρᾴκης.

72. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ' ἠοῦς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὤφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἷα φίλον ἐκ πάππου περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτούς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔχων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανήει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ,

country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had been present at many contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 men join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two before him had seen such a spectacle: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war.

72. The battle continued from dawn till night, many falling on both sides, and it seemed that Masinissa had the advantage. As he was returning from the field Scipio presented himself, and Masinissa greeted him with the greatest cordiality, having been a friend of his grandfather. When the Carthaginians learned of this they besought Scipio to make terms for them with Masinissa. He brought them to a conference, and the Carthaginians made proposals that they would surrender to Masinissa the territory belonging to the town of Emporium and give him 200 talents of silver now and 800 talents later. But when he asked for the deserters they would not even hear of it. So they separated without coming to an agreement. Then Scipio returned to Spain with his elephants, but Masinissa drew a line of circumvallation around the hill where the enemy were encamped and prevented them from getting any food brought in. Nor could any be found in the neighbourhood, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure a scant supply for himself from a long distance. Hasdrubal considered himself strong enough to break through the enemy's line at once with his army, which was still in good health and unharmed. But having more supplies

CAP. X ἀγορὰν δ' ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυνθανόμενος ἅμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ' ἦλθον μέν, εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσοῖτο, λῦσαι τὴν διαφοράν, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων εἴη, καὶ παροξῦναι.

73. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθυον, καὶ ἱμάντας ἑψοῦντες ἤσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἔκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινησίας ἔργων καὶ ὥρας ἔτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἓν χωρίον καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους. τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἕψησιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὔτ' ἐξεκαίετο ξύλων ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολύς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνοῦσιν ὀδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις σώμασιν. τό τε πλεῖστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐσενεγκεῖν, τούς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὅρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μιᾶς πύλης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθ' ἕνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε συνειδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δι'

than Masinissa he supposed that the latter would offer battle. So he waited near him, hearing also at the same time that ambassadors were on their way from Rome to negotiate a peace. By and bye they came, having instructions if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

Carthaginian army surrounded and captured

73. In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of all kinds of diseases due to bad food, want of exercise, and the season, for they were enclosed in one place and in a contracted camp—a great multitude of men exposed to the heat of an African summer. When the supply of wood for cooking failed they burned their shields. They could not carry out the bodies of the dead because Masinissa kept strict guard; nor could they burn them for want of fuel. So there arose a destructive and painful pestilence among them in consequence of living in the stench of putrefying corpses. The greater part of the army was already wasted away. The rest, seeing no hope of escape, agreed to give up the deserters to Masinissa and to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and to take back those who had been banished, although this was contrary to their oath. They were to pass out through their enemies, one by one, through a single gate, and with nothing but a short tunic for each. But Gulussa, full of wrath at the assault made upon him not long before, either with the connivance of his father or upon his

CAP. X ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας ἐπέπεμψεν, οἳ οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, οὔτε ὅπλον ἔχοντας ἐς ἄμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἔκτειναν. ἔκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρουβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

XI

CAP. XI 74. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπεσόντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτόν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἔτι ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ὧν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπήγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ' ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβᾳ τε τῷ στρατηγήσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐφῆπτο τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες. ἔς τε Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυναμένων αὐτὸν

own motion, sent against them a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. Having neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, the defenceless men were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility.

CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

B.C. 149

Third Punic wa

74. Such was the war between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harbouring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not saying for what it was intended but in order, they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the captain of auxiliaries, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They then sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse these men of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of

CAP. XI ὀξέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὡς δέ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἧσσαν ἐξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύεσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἠπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνωκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὔπω Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, "εἰ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσετε Ῥωμαίοις." ζητούντων δ' ἐκείνων ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ἱκανόν, οἱ μὲν ᾤοντο Ῥωμαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὡρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσσῃ τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γῆς μεταστῆναι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γνῶναι σαφῶς ὅ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

75. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαψιλεῖς, ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἳ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ

furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence so far offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: "You must satisfy the Roman people." When they inquired amongst themselves what satisfaction meant, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being therefore again at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what satisfaction was required. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well, and having given this answer dismissed them.

No excuse for war

75. While they were in this state of fear and perplexity, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having harbours with good anchorage and numerous landing-places for disembarking armies, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it), observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them at this critical moment, sent an embassy to Rome offering to give themselves up to the Romans.

Utica joins the Romans

CAP. XI καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πολεμον ὁρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνέ τε τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗπερ εἰώθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγούς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξέπεμπον, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Λεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρῖνον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ' ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἡμιολίαις, ἀφράκτοις δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, ἀρίστους ἅπαντας· ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατείαν καὶ προὖπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὥρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

76. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἥ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι' ἑνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφερέ τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίγνωσκον αὐτῶν ἀπορίᾳ τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ προσφάτῳ τοσῆσδε νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἑτοίμους, οὐ σῖτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνενηνεγμένον, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσσῃ. πρέσβεις οὖν ἑτέρους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον αὐτοκράτορας, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, τὰ παρόντα

The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they are accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manilius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemiolii,[1] besides many open boats, light ships and merchantmen. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many volunteers offered themselves for enrolment.

76. The declaration of war and the fact that it had begun reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger, who brought both the vote of the Senate and the news that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair owing to want of ships and the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war, while by themselves they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They therefore sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any

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[1] A light vessel with one and a half banks of oars.

CAP. XI διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶνδε, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τἆλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἕξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα· ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

77. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευον, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ βεβαίᾳ τὰ ὅμηρα παρέχοντες· οἷα δ' ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσῷδε, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδῇ προλαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἦγον ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἳ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιώδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτοντο καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῴδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐκώλυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἳ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένεον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορῶσαι. αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἔκοπτον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὁμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ συνθήκῃ τῶνδε τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατε-

terms they could. The Senate was convened, and told them that if, within thirty days, the Carthaginians would give to the consuls, who were still in Sicily, 300 children of their noblest families as hostages, and would obey their orders in other respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage should be preserved and they should retain their lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to the consuls that they should carry out their secret instructions.

Pitiful scenes when the hostages were sent

77. The Carthaginians had some suspicion of their design, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages. But in this hour of great peril they felt that their only hope lay in carrying out the commands to the letter. So, hastily anticipating the appointed time, they sent their children into Sicily, amid the tears of the parents, the kindred, and especially the mothers, who clung to their little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away, even holding the anchors and tearing the ropes, and throwing their arms around the sailors in order to prevent the ships from moving; some of them even swam out far into the sea beside the ships, shedding tears and gazing at their children. Others on the shore tore out their hair and smote their breasts as though they were mourning the dead. For it seemed to them that the giving of hostages was a mere specious phrase, which meant really the giving up of the city, when they surrendered their children without any fixed conditions. Many of them predicted, with lamentations, that it would

CAP. XI μαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὀνήσειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους· ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὁμήρων ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τοιάδε τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὕπατοι διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ.

78. Διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κἀκεῖ πρέσβεων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων, ἡ στρατιὰ δ᾽ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὅπλοις τε ἐπισήμοις ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἔφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημῆναι σιωπήν, ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἀλλὰ περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δ᾽ ὕπατοι λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἐλεεινὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν τε πέρι τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογίᾳ δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας, “ἀλλ᾽ ἐς σωφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς ὀξύτης ἔστω. κράτιστοι δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἐλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπι ποιοῦνται τῷ μηδὲν ἐς ἄλλας

profit the city nothing to have delivered up their children. Such were the scenes that took place in Carthage when the hostages were sent away. When the consuls received them in Sicily they sent them to Rome, and said to the Carthaginians that in reference to the ending of the war they would give them further information at Utica.

Roman army land at Utica

78. Crossing to the latter place they pitched the camp for their infantry at the same place where that of Scipio had formerly been. The fleet remained in the harbour of Utica. When the ambassadors came there also from Carthage the consuls placed themselves on a high seat, with the chief officers and military tribunes standing near, and the whole army drawn up extending far on either side with arms glistening and standards erect, in order that the ambassadors might be impressed in this way with the strength of the expedition. When the consuls had proclaimed silence by the trumpet, a herald told the Carthaginian envoys to come forward, and they were led in through the long camp, but did not draw near to the place where the consuls sat, because they were fenced off by a rope. The consuls then ordered them to say what they wanted, and the envoys told a varied and pitiful tale about the former agreements between the Romans and themselves, about the antiquity of Carthage, its size and power, and its wide and long-enduring dominion on land and sea. They said that they did not mention these things in a boasting way, this was no fit occasion for boasting, "but in order that you, Romans, may be moved to moderation and clemency by the example of our sudden change of fortune. The strongest are they who pity the fallen, and found their hopes

Embassy from Carthage

CAP. XI τύχας ἁμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων·

79. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν ἀτυχημάτων ὅσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφῃρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὅμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὅρκος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο· ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς οὐδ᾽ ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθομεν, τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐλεεινοὶ τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθὲς ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσσῃ πεπολεμήκαμεν· πολλά γε πλεονεκτοῦντι· καὶ πάντα δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ᾽ ἔχων καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέσπα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον· καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν

on the consciousness of never having wronged others. Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that morality in which you claim to be preeminent.

79. "But even if we had met ruthless enemies, the cup of our misfortunes is already full. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into a treaty with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe it. And they, with whom we had been at war, thereafter kept faith towards us. But you, with whom we have not even come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any of the elephants which you grudge us? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. Yes, but he was always seizing our property, and we endured all things on your account. Treating with unceasing injustice ourselves and the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking them he invaded still others, until he brought our treaty with

CAP. XI τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχεεν· εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἳ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἑτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπῃ θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν ἔδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ζημιῶτε, ταῦτα προυτείνομεν, ἐπιδέδεικται σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν αἰτοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ δόγματός ἐστιν, ἢν παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὅμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἐᾶν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κεκτημένην ἃ ἔχομεν."

XII

CAP. XII 80. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρῖνος δ᾽ ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε· "τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, πρεσβεύσασιν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὃ δὲ ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προείπομεν τὰ ὅμηρα παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τῆς τε ταχυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς·

you into confusion. If this is your pretext for the war, we even condemned those who resisted him, and sent ambassadors to you to make the necessary explanations, and afterwards others empowered to make a settlement on any terms you pleased. What need then is there of a fleet, an expedition, an army against men who do not acknowledge that they have done wrong, but who, nevertheless, put themselves entirely in your hands? That we were not deceiving you in making this offer, and that we would submit ungrudgingly to whatever penalty you impose, we demonstrated plainly when we sent, as hostages, the children of our noblest families, demanded by you, as the decree of your Senate ordered us, not even awaiting the expiration of the thirty days. It was a part of this decree that if we would deliver the hostages Carthage should remain free under her own laws and in the enjoyment of her possessions."

CHAP. XI

XII

CHAP. XII

Reply of Censorinus

80. So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: "Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? But what you have stated falsely about us, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. But if you are sincerely desirous

CAP. XII τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε· πάντα ὅσα δημόσιά τε καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἡμῖν παράδοτε.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν μὲν καὶ τοῖσδε ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. καὶ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιός τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἱσπανὸς ἐπίκλησιν παρελάμβανον εἴκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἄπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχιλίους· καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἦν λαμπρὰ καὶ παράλογος, ἁμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἵποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἄριστοι ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξειν. ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος (ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτερος τοῦ συνάρχου) ἀναστὰς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ πολύ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

81. “Τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔς τε τὰ ὅμηρα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρὴ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόστητε γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συγκλήτου κέλευσμα· ἔκστητε τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας,

of peace why do you need any arms? Come, surrender to us all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private." When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 20,000 men and was encamped outside the very walls of Carthage. When the consuls said that the Romans would see to this, they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnaeus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and received complete armour for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and about 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with leading senators and citizens, priests and other distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and after long contemplating them with a frown spake as follows:—

81. "Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. But in cases of necessity, we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining command of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from

CAP. XII ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης· τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι." οἱ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῆς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἠπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλά τε καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ ἔκφρονες ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μύσος πρέσβεων διερεθίζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κεφαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπερρήγνυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἦν οἷα νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύσαιντο ἀγανακτοῦντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἡ ἀνάγκη. ὃ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἁπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλά. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κἀκείνοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε παμμιγὴς καὶ ἐλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζόντων ὁμοῦ τά τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρῦσαι.

Terrible plight of Carthage

the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground." While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. Repeatedly and virulently they cursed the Romans, either because they wished to die, or because they were out of their minds, or because they were determined to provoke the Romans to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses. When at last the frenzy was past they lay there, crushed and silent, like dead men. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians; for when during the interval of silence the sense of their calamity came over them, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also that of their country, as though she could hear their pitiful and incessant cries like a human being. The priests also invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they too were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief, that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.

CAP. XII 82. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσῄει μὲν οἶκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δ᾽ ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔληξαν, αὖθις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἔναγχος διεφθαρμένων, ξενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηνται τὸ ἄστυ ἔνοπλοι ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἵπποις, Μασσανάσσης δ᾽ ἐχθρὸς ἕτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβου μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὖθις ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ᾧ Τιγίλλας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν·

83. “Εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογία), ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Λιβύης ἄρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὅτι πλείστης, περὶ ἡγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἴχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὀμωμοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὅρκων, ὀμόσαντος ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους

82. The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, waited with stern countenances till they should weary of lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men at home, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. Nor had they mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, another enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of noisy reproaches they desisted from them, and again turned to argument. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said:—

Pathetic speech of Banno

83. "If you still have any respect for what we have said to you before, Romans, we will speak, not as though we were contending for right (since disputation is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans

CAP. XII Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐς ταυθ' ὅ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδέ τῳ παραστῇ καταγιγνώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρῴην εἴπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ᾐτεῖτε· αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἅμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατώτερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἳ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἅπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτής· τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὦ ὕπατοι, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρές ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὅμηρα ᾐτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἠγάγομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ᾐτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὧν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἑκόντες μεθίενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἤθει καὶ τρόπῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι προαγορεῦσαι, ἐν δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς κατασκαφήν, ἣν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;

84. Τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίεμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ ὃ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσίν ἐστι λοιπόν, ὀδυρό-

and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we made it before when you demanded our arms. Calamities make men verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio is our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the authors and the witnesses. You asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in the Romans' habits and character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

84. "This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you refuse to hear even about the latter, then we abandon all else and have recourse to prayers and tears, the last refuge of the unfortunate, for which

CAP. XII μεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἱκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπέρ τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνῳκισμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὀνόματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπέρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, οὓς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἑορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἔλεος (φατὲ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἳ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φείσασθε πολιτικῆς ἑστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι Καρχηδόνος, οἳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν προτίθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον, ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἤπειρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλασσοβιώτοις, ὧν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐᾶτε τὴν οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ.

85. Δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἀεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε· μὴ δή, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνα ἔτι ἔχουσί τε καὶ μή ποτε μνησικακήσαιεν ὑμῖν μηδὲ

there is ample occasion in the abundance of our calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name that has pervaded the whole world, in behalf of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their nightly festivals, their processions and their solemnities. Deprive not the tombs of the dead, who harm you no more, of their offerings. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare the city's hearth, spare our forum, spare the goddess who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our ships and our arms and the elephants which you grudge us? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but, if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city. CHAP XII

85. "Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you profess the virtue of moderation in prosperity, and claim credit for it from those whom you conquer. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of the other gods, especially those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never bear a grudge

CAP. XII παισὶν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τὴν εὔκλειαν ὑμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρά τε πρώτοις ὑμῖν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάροις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἑτέρους· καὶ οὐδείς πω κατέσκαψε πόλιν χεῖράς τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ᾽ ὑμῖν ὁρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ᾽, εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἔς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι. βραχὺ δ᾽ ὁρᾶτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν· ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ᾽ εὐσεβὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιγίγεται."

86. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δῆλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε "περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἤδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ,

against you or your children), do not tarnish your own good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever razed to the ground a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and Nemesis, most terrible to the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to increase our calamities beyond all cure. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time for sending another embassy to your Senate and for making our petition. Although the intervening time is short, you see that it will bring long agony to us through the uncertainty of the event. But your security is the same, whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act."

Reply of Censorinus

86. So spake Banno, but the consuls showed by their stern looks during the whole speech that they would yield nothing. When he had ceased, Censorinus replied: "What is the use of repeating what the Senate has ordered? It has issued its decrees and they must be carried out. We have not even power to defer what has already been commanded. If we had imposed these commands on you as enemies, Carthaginians, it would be necessary only to speak and then use force, but since this is a

CAP. XII τάχα μέν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, γίγνεται, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἥδε, μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελίᾳ τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπωλέσατε· ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφήρησθε. ἔν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλῄζεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μάλιστα, ἵνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἁλόντες ποινὴν ἡμῖν ἔδοτε Σαρδώ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφῃρέθητε διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ὀρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυεργίαν.

87. Ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ηὔξησέ τε καὶ καθεῖλεν· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἴστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἠπειρῶται τότε κἀκεῖνοι γενέσθαι. ὃ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτούς. εὐσταθέστερος γάρ, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ ἐν ἠπείρῳ βίος, γεωργίᾳ καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ προσπονῶν· καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν ἴσως τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τέ

matter of the common good (ours, perhaps, to a certain extent, but yours even more), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrong-doing and brings you thus into disaster. The sea made you invade Sicily and lose it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were detected, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also because of the sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain.

87. "Through this the Athenians, when they became a maritime people, grew mightily, but fell as suddenly. Naval prowess is like merchants' gains—a good profit to-day and a total loss to-morrow. You know at any rate that those very people whom I have mentioned, when they had extended their sway over the Ionian Sea to Sicily, could not restrain their greed until they had lost their whole empire, and were compelled to surrender their harbour and their ships to their enemies, to receive a garrison in their city, to demolish their own Long Walls, and to become almost an inland people. And this very thing secured their existence for a long time. Believe me, Carthaginians, life inland, with the joys of agriculture and quiet, is much more equable. Although the gains of agriculture are, perhaps, smaller than those of mercantile life, they are surer and a great deal safer. In fact, a maritime city seems to me to be

CAP. XII μοι δοκεῖ πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ γῆ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ὡς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασίλεια ὡς ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μέγιστα ἐγένοντο τὰ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἑτέρων.

88. Ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι διαφερόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἧς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκησθε τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἵους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρῳκοδομημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ὑμῖν ἐστιν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύναισθε; πάθος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μετασχεῖν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος ἔλεγχος, ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφῃρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακ-

more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of the solid earth. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful.

88. "But I will omit examples of monarchies, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose the one that you would like to have as a neighbour, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the sight and memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the sea empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and the harbours into which you proudly brought them, and filled your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your

CAP. XII εἶτε, δεῖ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶνδε καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον εἰργασμένων. καὶ τί ἔτι φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημμένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, μόνα δ' ἐξῄρησθε Λιβύης ἃ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, φέρετε, καὶ ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Λιβύην, ἣν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάντες, ἧς ἀπέστητε.

89. Μηδ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἑστίας καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ τάφους· ὧν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίοις θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. ἑστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγορὰς ἔνι καὶ μετελθόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κἀκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἔσται πάτρια, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες ἠλλάξασθε Λιβύην, τά τε ἐπίκτητα ὑμῖν τότε γενόμενα νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ μάθοιτε ἂν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθείητε ὅτι καὶ Ἄλβην ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποικοι προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετῳκίσαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔτι χειρώνακτες πολλοὶ θαλασσοβίωτοι. καὶ τούτου

opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbour and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. In that case, why should we spare any longer our captured enemies? But if you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but with your hearts, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you made this peace with us in an honest spirit, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us.

89. "Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your hearths, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, if you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards, nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other hearths and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently that will be your country; just as you left your home in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the land then acquired your country. In brief, you will understand that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting concord and of the common security; if you remember how we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but treating the citizens with the honour due to them from their colonists, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many workpeople who gain their living by the sea. We

CAP. XII πεφροντικαμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως ἐπιμιγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων διάθεσίν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρῆ· οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δ' ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὃ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν· Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγούμεθα.”

XIII

CAP. XIII 90. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἡσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων ἐπεῖπεν· “ἃ μὲν ἔδειπείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν, εἴρηται· τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἄπιτε οὖν· ἐστὲ γὰρ ἔτι πρέσβεις.” ὃ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔσεσθαι προορῶντες, ᾔτησαν αὖθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν “τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὁρῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔτι λέγοντες ἀπολεῖσθαι· δεόμεθα δ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν (ἐσμὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἕτοιμοι) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι

have thought of this too. In order that you might easily have access to the sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We considered *you* to be Carthage, not the ground where you live."

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CHAP. XIII

Return of the ambassadors

90. Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable, since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. And we do not expect to return to you again, but to be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. But we make this request of you, not on our own account (for we are ready to suffer everything), but on account of Carthage itself, which may

CAP. XIII Καρχηδόνος, εἰ δύναιτο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναῦς ἕως ὁδεύοντες ἄπιμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὧν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἂν ἄρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφῖκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῄεσαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν· τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.

91. Καρχηδόνιοι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὁπότε ἥξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχθοντο, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ᾽ ὑπήντων ἔτι προσιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ᾽ ἕκαστον, ὡς εἶχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνῴμωζον ὡς ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανῴμωζον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀθρόοι, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσόνδε ἔφασαν, ὅτι χρὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡδοποίουν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ θᾶσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνήδρευον

be able, if stricken with terror, to bow before misfortune. Surround the city with your fleet while we are returning by the road, so that both seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may bear it if they can. To this state has fortune and necessity brought us that we ourselves ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland." Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus coasted along with twenty quinqueremes and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors fled on the journey home, but the greater part moved on in silence.

Terrible scenes in the city

91. Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now altogether, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them, while those on the walls, as they heard them, joined in the lamentations, knowing nothing, but feeling unmistakably the presence of a great calamity. At the gates the crowd almost trod the envoys underfoot, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn to pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd made room, and others even opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. After they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained

CAP. XIII ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων· καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοὴ τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι παραιτούμενοι, αὖθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώπα. ὡς δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠλάλαξαν ἐξαίσιον ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

92. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἦν οἶστρος ἄλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσί φασι τὰς μαινάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ᾐκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὅπλων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἳ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς τε ἅμα παὶ ὀργῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἡ πόλις ἐνεπέπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἄσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὠνείδιζον ὡς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι δυναμένους. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὁπλοθήκας ἰόντες ἔκλαιον, ὁρῶντες κενάς· οἱ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ὠδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἀπίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκδεδο-

standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. But when they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, there was an outburst of loud lamentation, and the people rushed in among them.

92. Then followed a scene of blind, raving madness, like the strange acts which the Maenads are said to perform when under the influence of Bacchus. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favoured giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news, and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, adding that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not even being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships

CAP. XIII μένας. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἔτι παρόντων, τούς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς δέον μήτε ναῦς μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε φόρους μήτε τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανεῖν σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὡπλισμένῃ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀργὴν ἀνέκαιον αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὁμήρων, οἷά τινες ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἐρινύες ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ' ὀλολυγῆς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν· ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνομένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὀλίγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

93. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐψηφίσατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγοὺς δὲ εἵλοντο τῶν μὲν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχοντα δισμυρίων ἤδη σύνοδον ἀνδρῶν· καί τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος μὴ μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνὲσ χάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδέ, ὧν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἠδικήθη Ῥωμαίων δέει, νῦν ἀναφέρειν. ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἕτερος Ἀσδρούβας, θυγατριδοῦς Μασσανάσσου. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους, αἰτοῦντες αὖθις ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἵνα πρεσβεύσειαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐπὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εὐρύχωρον ἦν, ἐγένετο· εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαυόμενοι

that had been surrendered to perfidious men. Some called their elephants by name, as though they were still there, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, without paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks, and reproached them with giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. The few who remained sane closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of catapults.

Carthage resolves to fight

93. The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other wide and open space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked

CAP. XIII καὶ σῖτον αἱρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὅρῳ τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἑκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικὰ βέλη χίλια, σαυνία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πεντακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὅσους δυνηθεῖεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἑτέρων ἀπορίᾳ.

94. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τάχα μέν τι καὶ ὄκνῳ, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὖσαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι, διέμελλον ἔτι καὶ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθούντων. ἃ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἅπτεσθαι, ἐτόλμησεν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα, ὄντας ἀνόπλους, οὕτω σαφῶς εἰπὼν τὰ τῆς γνώμης. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἑώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὅμως δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἔφη τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, ὅταν αἴσθηται δεομένων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἴ τινος ἤδη δέονται. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμεναί-

together day and night, on a fixed schedule, without pause, taking their food by turns. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and spears, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

Slow movements of the consuls

94. While the Carthaginians were preparing for war with such haste and zeal, the consuls, who perhaps hesitated about performing such an atrocious act on the instant, and besides thought they could capture an unarmed city by storm whenever they liked, kept still delaying. They thought also that the Carthaginians would give in for want of means, as it usually happens that those who are in desperate straits, resist at first, but as time brings opportunity for reflection, fear of the consequences of disobedience takes possession of them. Something of this kind actually happened in Carthage, where a certain citizen, conjecturing that fear had already come upon them, came forward in the assembly as if on other business and dared to say that among evils they ought to choose the least, since they were unarmed, thus speaking his mind plainly. Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthaginians to their knees others should carry off the glory before his eyes, not even communicating with him beforehand as they had done in the former wars. Nevertheless, when the consuls, by way of testing him, asked his assistance, he said he would send it whenever he should see that they needed it. Not long after he sent to inquire if they wanted anything at present. They, not tolerating his haughtiness and already suspicious of him as a disaffected person, answered

CAP. XIII νοντι, ἀπεκριναντο προσπέμψειν ὅτε δεηθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνυ ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Λιβύης ἦν ἔτι πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορὰν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. ὀλίγων δ᾽ ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεισῶν ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προσῄεσαν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

XIV

CAP. XIV 95. Ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χερρονήσῳ τι μάλιστα προσεοικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διεῖργεν, εὖρος ὢν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἐχώρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἁπλῷ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἤπειρον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῷ τείχει. τούτων δ᾽ ἕκαστον ἦν ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πύργων, οἳ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετρώροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ᾽ ἦν ἑκάστου τείχους τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν τροφῶν, ἱπποστάσια δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἦν τετρακισχιλίοις ἵπποις, καὶ ταμιεῖα χιλοῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ πεζοῖς μὲν ἐς

that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumetum, Leptis, Thapsus, Utica, and Acholla only. For Hasdrubal was still in possession of all the rest of Africa, whence he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it. CHAP. XIII

XIV

CHAP. XIV

Topography of Carthage

95. The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended towards the west between a lake and the sea. <On the sea side,> where the city faced a precipice, it was protected by a single wall. Towards the south and the mainland, where the city of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet, not taking account of the parapets and the towers, which were placed all round at intervals of 200 feet, each having four stories, while their depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided into two stories. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for

CAP. XIV δισμυρίους, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. τοσήδε παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἣ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνη καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ ἠμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

96. Οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἁλύσεσιν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρηπῖσι μεγάλαις ἥ τε νῆσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἱ κρηπῖδες αἵδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεποιημένων, καὶ ταμιείων ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηρετικὰ σκεύη. κίονες δ' ἑκάστου νεωσοίκου προῦχον Ἰωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποίητο τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα ὅ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανὴς ἡ τῶν ἔνδον ᾖ ὄψις ἡ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τεῖχός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι, αἳ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

97. Οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἡ τότε, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ᾔεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς

war was arranged and provided for in their walls alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbour along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning.

The two harbours

96. The harbours had communication with each other, and a common entrance from the sea seventy feet wide, which could be closed with iron chains. The first port was for merchant vessels, and here were collected all kinds of ships' tackle. Within the second port was an island, and great quays were set at intervals round both the harbour and the island. These embankments were full of shipyards which had capacity for 220 vessels. In addition to them were magazines for their tackle and furniture. Two Ionic columns stood in front of each dock, giving the appearance of a continuous portico to both the harbour and the island. On the island was built the admiral's house, from which the trumpeter gave signals, the herald delivered orders, and the admiral himself overlooked everything. The island lay near the entrance to the harbour, and rose to a considerable height, so that the admiral could observe what was going on at sea, while those who were approaching by water could not get any clear view of what took place within. Not even incoming merchants could see the docks at once, for a double wall enclosed them, and there were gates by which merchant ships could pass from the first port to the city without traversing the dockyards. Such was the appearance of Carthage at that time.

97. But the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to

CAP. XIV ἠπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχώσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείχη· Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ κλίμακας ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελῆ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ' ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν, ἕως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καινοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὖθις ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὄπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένον, ὠχύρουν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης· καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ὑλοτόμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ὅπλα τε πολλά, Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου, προσπεσόντος, ᾧ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὅμως τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμὼν καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλών, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι ταύτῃ·

98. Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθουμένην

fill up the ditch, surmount the low parapet overlooking it, and from that to scale the high wall. Censorinus raised ladders both from the ground and from the decks of ships against the neglected angle of the wall. Both of them despised the enemy, thinking that they were unarmed, but when they found that they were provided with new arms and were full of unexpected courage they were astounded and retreated. Thus they met a rebuff at the very beginning, in expecting to take the city without fighting. When they made a second attempt and were again repulsed, the spirits of the Carthaginians were very much raised. But the consuls, fearing Hasdrubal, who had pitched his camp behind them on the other side of the lake, not far distant, themselves fortified two camps, Censorinus on the lake under the walls of the enemy, and Manilius on the isthmus leading to the mainland. When the camps were finished Censorinus crossed the lake to get timber for building engines and lost about 500 men, who were cutting wood, and also many tools, the Carthaginian cavalry-general, Himilco, surnamed Phameas, having suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless, he secured a certain amount of timber with which he made engines and ladders. Again they made an attempt upon the city in concert, and again they failed. Manilius, after a few further efforts, having with difficulty beaten down part of the outworks, despaired even of attacking on that side.

The Romans repulsed

98. Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have a broader road, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers

CAP. XIV ἑξακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς, ἡγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρετῶν, ἡγουμένων καὶ τοῖσδε ναυάρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὡς ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἤδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὣς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ᾠκοδόμουν. οὐκ ἀρκούσης δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ ἤδη γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότευκτον καὶ ὑγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα (οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων), ἀχρεῖα δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὁρμὴ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὔπω τελέως ἐγηγερμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν· καὶ γάρ τι πεδίον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἑτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικειμένων οἰκιῶν ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ θρασέως ἐπεπήδων. Σκιπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον εἷλε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν τότε ᾤκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελών, καὶ στήσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἴα, τοὺς

under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. The two detachments, officers as well as men, were fired by rivalry in the performance of their similar tasks, and beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. But even so the Carthaginians drove them back and began to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman engines should readily destroy by daylight the part which they had already completed, as it was newly made and still moist, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches only, to set fire to the machines. They had not time to burn these entirely (the Romans running up and preventing them), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighbouring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribune, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go down into the city. When those who entered were driven

Roman rams destroyed

Scipio the younger

CAP. XIV δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

99. Κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέος ὕδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γίγνοιτο πνεῦμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου εἷλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων· εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἔμελλον γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλήσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνσωρῖνος μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ᾤχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανιλίῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο· καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέσπων. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμὼν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.

back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succour and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the general.

99. Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the army of Censorinus, whose camp was pitched on a lake of stagnant and impure water, under high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea. For this reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, whenever the wind blew toward the Romans, towed along small boats, filled with twigs and tow, under the walls, where they could not be seen by the enemy. When they were turning the corner, and were just about to be sighted, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterwards Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal panic.

Fleet burned

CAP. XIV 100. Ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠχύρου, τεῖχός τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεὶς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγοράν· τραπεὶς δ' ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, ξυλευόμενός τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων. ἡγεῖτο δ' ἀεὶ τῶν προνομευόντων χιλίαρχος ἕτερος παρ' ἕτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἵππαρχος ὁ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος τε ὢν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος μικροῖς καὶ ταχέσι, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἴη, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχμαις ἢ φάραγξιν, ὅπῃ τι ἀμελούμενον ἴδοι, ἐφίπτατο ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὥς τις ἀετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα· ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπεφαίνετο. ὁ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ἦγε τοὺς πεζούς, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν ἵππων ἐπιβεβηκότας· ἔν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον, ὃ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὁπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τότε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἑτέραις ἴλαις ἱππέων ἀεὶ περιῄει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀποσκιδνάμενον ἢ ἐξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

XV

CAP. XV 101. Ὅθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρει μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου τοῦδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ηὔξετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι χιλίαρχοι κατὰ φθόνον

CHAP. XIV

100. Manilius thereupon fortified his camp more carefully. He threw around it a wall in place of the palisade and built a fort on the sea-shore at the place where his supply-ships came in. Then, turning to the mainland, he ravaged the country with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, collecting wood and forage and provisions. These foraging parties were in charge of the military tribunes by turns. Now Phameas, the commander of the African horse,—a young and daring soldier, who had small but swift horses that lived on grass when they could find nothing else, and could bear both hunger and thirst when necessary,—hiding in thickets and ravines, when he saw that the enemy were not on their guard swooped down upon them from his hiding-place like an eagle, inflicted as much damage on them as he could, and darted away again. But whenever Scipio was in command he never even made an appearance, because Scipio always kept his foot-soldiers in line and his horsemen on horseback, and in foraging never broke ranks until he had encircled the field where his harvesters were to work with cavalry and infantry. He then, in person, rode unceasingly round the circle with other squadrons of horse, and if any of the harvesters straggled away or passed outside of the circle he punished them severely.

Exploits of Phameas

XV

CHAP. XV

101. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack. As this happened continually, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a

A sally from the city

CAP. XV ἐλογοποίουν ξενίαν ἐκ πατερων εἶναι Φαμέᾳ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε πάππον. Λιβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρούρια, ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλίαρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἴκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ πρὶν ἢ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδείς. τοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις δι' ὀλίγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινείῳ· καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούντων ἐς ἔκπληξιν τῶν ἐν ἄστει Καρχηδονίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἔνδον συνεῖχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἱππέων ἴλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπῆγε μετὰ δᾴδων ἡμμένων, προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἐμπεσουμένων παρέχειν ἀεί, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι προσεγίγνετο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἑλόντος καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων, ἐς οὓς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

102. Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐδυσχέραινεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκρημνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ

report that there was an understanding between Phameas and Scipio, arising from the former friendship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken refuge in towers and castles, with which the country abounded. The other tribunes, after granting them terms and letting them go free, used to set upon them as they departed; but Scipio always conducted them safely home, and after this none of them would make any agreement before Scipio arrived. So great had his reputation for courage and good faith become in a short time among both friends and enemies. After the Romans had returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined by making noises to add to the alarm. While Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse, led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course around them with the firebrands and make a show of numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of attacking here and there. This was done until the Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on both sides, became panic-stricken and took refuge in the city. This also was added to the successes of Scipio. After all he had done, men talked of him as the only worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family he had been received by adoption.

Manilius marches against Hasdrubal

102. Manilius undertook an expedition to Nepheris against Hasdrubal, of which Scipio disapproved, because the road was flanked by mountain crags,

CAP. XV ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένηντο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἔς τι ῥεῦμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἄλλου καιροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ζῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἑτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἠξίου στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐγεῖραι, ἵν' εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπείλησεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαινεν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τἆλλα ὢν ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐν τάξει· δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διῃροῦντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἔκτεινεν οὐδ' ἀμυνομένων ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἳ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him earnestly to turn back, saying that another time and other means were needed for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savoured of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio counselled, as second best, that they ought to fortify a camp on the further side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place in which they could even seek refuge. The others laughed at this also, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal withdrew into his stronghold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the scarcity and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a more brilliant attack than ever, and slew a great number of them who fled without resistance. Among the killed were three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.

He is repulsed

His flight

CAP. XV 103. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπῆγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπιόντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἧσσον τοῖς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἔφθασαν διελθεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπεῖραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ῥεύματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων, ἕως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον, ἠπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἅπασι δι' ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, κινδυνευόντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε καὶ σημείων τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἱππέων ἴλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἔφη ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολεῖσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὥδευε, δεδιότος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς δ' ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοὺς δύο χαράδρα διεῖργεν, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε

A detachment rescued

103. Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, by turns discharging darts at them and quickly retreating, then coming back at them and again quickly darting away, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus continuously assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter thus had time to get across the stream, and then Scipio rode away after them under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them till they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in great perplexity. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then he himself, selecting some companies of horse, said that he would either rescue them or gladly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return himself. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated

CAP. XV μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς οὔπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἶδε τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἤδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας.

104. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισώσαντα τοὺς ἑτέρους, μέγα ἠλάλαξαν ἡδόμενοι. καὶ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὃ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι· ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρῄνει θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. ὁ δ' ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγῖδος εὑρὼν (χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλίαρχοι, τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφορούντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἤδη δεδιώς τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀναζευγνύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα ἐπέκειτο

from the former by a narrow ravine. The Africans thereupon pressed the siege vigorously, making signals to each other and thinking that Scipio would not be able to relieve his friends after his forced march. But Scipio, seeing that the bases of the two hills curved around the ravine, lost no time, but dashed around them and secured a position above the enemy. They, finding themselves surrounded, fled in disorder. Scipio did not pursue them, as they were much superior in numbers.

104. Thus Scipio saved these men also, who had been given up for lost. When the army at a distance saw him returning safe himself, and having saved the others contrary to expectation, they shouted for joy and conceived the idea that he was aided by the same deity that was supposed to have enabled his grandfather Scipio to foresee the future. Manilius then returned to his camp in front of the city, having suffered severely from not following the advice of Scipio, who had tried to dissuade him from the expedition. When all were grieved that those who had fallen in battle, and especially the tribunes, remained unburied, Scipio released one of the captives and sent him to Hasdrubal, asking that he would give burial to the tribunes. The latter, searched among the corpses, and, recognizing them by their signet rings (for the military tribunes wore gold rings while the common soldiers had only iron ones), he buried them, thus thinking to do an act of humanity not uncommon in war, or perhaps because he was in awe of the reputation of Scipio and thought to do him a service. As the Romans were returning from the expedition against Hasdrubal Phameas made an attack upon them while demoral-

CAP. XV Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταῖσμα θορυβουμένοις· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων, καί τινα καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

XVI

CAP. XVI 105. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδώσοντας αὐτῇ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ' ὧν ὅ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ὥστ' ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρμήν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τούτοις μὲν ἔχαιρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά, γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ᾔει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα.

106. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, ᾧ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν

ised by that disaster, and when they were entering their camp the Carthaginians sallied out from the city to meet them and killed some of the camp followers.

XVI

CHAP. XVI

B.C. 148

Rising fame of Scipio

105. Meantime the Senate sent commissioners to the army to obtain and communicate to it accurate particulars, in whose presence Manilius and the council and the remaining tribunes bore testimony in favour of Scipio; for all jealousy had been stifled by his glorious actions. The whole army did the same, and his deeds spoke for themselves, so that the messengers, on their return, everywhere noised abroad the military skill and success of Scipio and the attachment of the soldiers to him. These things greatly pleased the Senate, but on account of the many mishaps that had taken place they sent to Masinissa to secure his utmost aid against Carthage. The envoys found that he was no longer living, having succumbed to old age and disease. Having several illegitimate sons, to whom he had made large gifts, and three legitimate ones, who differed from each other in their qualities, he had asked Scipio, on the ground of his friendship with him and with his grandfather, to come and consult with him concerning his children and the government. Scipio went immediately, but shortly before he arrived Masinissa breathed his last, having charged his sons to obey Scipio in the matter of the division of the estate.

Death of Masiniss

106. Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine

CAP. XVI θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ' ὠκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ' αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῆ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιπόντα. ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὔρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷδ' ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὐρωστίαν αὐτοῦ· πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παίδων γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, οὔποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετὲς δὲ παιδίον ἐνενηκοντούτης ὢν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ὧδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐτεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἑτέρας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἁρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος, Μικίψῃ μέν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὢν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κίρτην ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσσῃ δέ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ' ἡλικίαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβᾳ δέ, ὃς νεώτατος ὢν ἤσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφίλογα.

107. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ

favour he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it greatly from Mauritania on the ocean as far inland as the empire of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a great sum of money in his treasury and a large and well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To the legitimate sons he gave in common the treasures and the revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there. Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made arbiter of peace and war. Mastanabal, the youngest, who was a man of upright life, was appointed judge to decide causes between their subjects.

107. In this way Scipio divided the government

CAP. XVI περιουσίαν Μασσανάσσου διεῖλε τοῖς παισί, καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο· ὁ δὲ τὰς Φαμέου μάλιστα ἐνέδρας, αἳ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστελλεν. ἐν δέ τινι χειμασίᾳ Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρώδευον ἀλλήλοις, μέσην ἔχοντες ἄβατον χαράδραν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιὼς δ' ὁ Σκιπίων μή τις ἐνέδρα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἴη, προϊὼν κατεσκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας ἰδὼν ἀντιπροῄει μεθ' ἑνὸς φίλου. ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ' ἑνὸς καὶ ὅδε φίλου. καὶ ὡς ἤδη κατακούειν ἐδύναντο ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προελήλυθεν. "τί δὴ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς δύνασαι;" ὁ δέ, "τίς ἐστιν," ἔφη, "μοι σωτηρία, Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, Ῥωμαίων δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;" καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, "ἐγγυῶμαί σοί," φησιν, "εἰ πιστὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἔσεσθαι." ὁ δ' ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς ἀξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, "κρινῶ" δ', ἔφη· "κἂν δυνατὸν ἡγῶμαι, φανερὸν ἔσται σοι."

108. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διεκρίθησαν, ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος αἰδούμενος τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ γενομένην, αὖθις ἐς Νέφεριν ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τροφὰς ἐπαγόμενος. πλησιάσας δ' ἔθετο χάρακα καὶ ὠχύρου καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ

and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter in particular searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable water-course, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambuscade further on, advanced with three companions to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced on the opposite side with one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, rode on also with a single companion. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said: "Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country's?" The other replied, "What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?" "If you have any confidence in my word and influence," said Scipio, "I promise you both safety and pardon from the Romans and their favour besides." Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, "I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know." Then they separated.

A talk with Phameas

108. Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nepheris, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former

Treason of Phameas

CAP. XVI στρατείᾳ παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοῖ μείζονι ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ', ὡς εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ λύσαντες ηὗρον· "ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι· σὺ δ' ἐλθὲ μεθ' ὅσων βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον." ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνῆκε δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μή τις ἀπάτη παρ' ἀνδρὸς γένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας· εὔελπιν δ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας δοῦναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὰ πρέποντα ποιήσειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν οὐδ' ἐπαγγελίας· ὁ γάρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἧκεν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔφη πιστεύειν δεξιουμένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἰλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπί τινα σκέψιν ἑτέραν, εἶπεν· "εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἔτι τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν· εἰ δ' ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπί τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὅσους πείσαιμι ὑμῶν, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, τῶν δ' ἰλαρχῶν οἱ

occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa's army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: "On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night." Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio guessed that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambuscade by this very persuasive plotter; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to say anything definite about reward, and only to promise him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of a promise however, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favours he would leave that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward with his officers into the space between the armies, as though to debate about some other matters, he said, "If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. It is time for you too to consider what is for your advantage." When he had said this, some

CAP. XVI μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὑτῶν ηὐτομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας· τοὺς δ' Ἄννων κατεκώλυσεν, ᾧ Λεῦκος ἦν ἐπίκλησις.

109. Ἐπανιόντι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ηὐφήμουν ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' Ἀσδρούβαν ἔψεσθαι προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένον, ἀνεζεύγνυεν αὐτίκα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἑπτακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔχων. τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις ἐχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων τόν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβὼν δέ τινας καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδίον ἠπείχθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἧκε φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, προέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ηὐφήμουν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ηὔχοντο ὕπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς μόνον αἱρήσοντα Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἤδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε, Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἱρήσειν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπῄνει, Φαμέαν δ' ἐτίμησαν ἁλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἵππῳ χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς μυρίαις, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἐντελῆ. καὶ ἐπήλπισαν περὶ πλειόνων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ὑποσχό-

of the officers went over to the enemy with their forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were prevented by Hanno, surnamed the White.

109. When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and saluted him with cheers as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away from want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They were destined, however, to have three days more of suffering in their return. Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called the Great Pit and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome in advance with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage, and many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armour, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would co-operate with them to the end of the war. He

CAP. XVI μενος ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαιων στρατόπεδον.

110. Ἧκε δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὕπατος ἅμα ἦρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν· οἳ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἑτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς εἷλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαζεν αἰτιωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἱππάγρετα μετῆλθεν, ἣ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιωτῶν τυράννου κατεσκεύαστο καλῶς, μέση δ' οὖσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσαν· ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπλούτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαί τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τό γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἤνυε, δὶς δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἱππαγρέτιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχούντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

111. Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, ἐπειδή σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδον ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἱππάγρετα, Βιθύας τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομὰς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ Γολόσσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἑώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπήρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπῄεσαν,

promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa. CHAP. XVI

110. In the early spring Calpurnius Piso, the new consul, arrived, and with him Lucius Mancinus as admiral of the fleet, but they did not attack either the Carthaginians or Hasdrubal. Marching against the neighbouring towns they made an attempt on Aspis by land and sea, and were repulsed. Piso took another town near by and destroyed it, the inhabitants accusing him of attacking them in violation of a treaty. He then moved against Hippagreta, a large city, with walls, citadel, harbour, and dockyards handsomely built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily. Being situated between Carthage and Utica it intercepted the Roman supply-ships and was growing rich thereby. Calpurnius thought to punish them and deprive them at least of their gains, but after besieging them the whole summer he accomplished nothing. Twice the inhabitants made sallies with the aid of the Carthaginians, and burned the Roman engines. The consul, being foiled, returned to Utica and went into winter quarters.

Arrival of the new consul Piso

Piso repulsed

111. The Carthaginians, finding themselves and the army of Hasdrubal unharmed, and having worsted Piso in the fighting around Hippagreta, and their forces being augmented by 800 horse, who had deserted from Gulussa, under Bithya, a Numidian chief, and seeing also that Micipsa and Mastanabal, the sons of Masinissa, were always promising arms and money to the Romans, but always delaying and waiting to see what would happen, plucked up their spirits and roamed through Africa without fear,

The Carthaginians in high spirits

CAP. XVI κρατυνόμενοί τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ὑβριστικὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προύφερον τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δὶς γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος ἐς Ἱππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὔσης καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτονόμους Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῦ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίσι μεθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον υἱὸν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερῶς ὡς οὐκ ἐλλειψόντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐφρόνουν ὁπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ κατὰ μικρὸν ηὔξοντο. ἐπῆρτο δ᾽ ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δὶς κρατῆσαι Μανιλίου· τήν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἠπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδοκήτῳ, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθροις κατέβαλον.

XVII

CAP. XVII 112. Ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομενης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δῆμος ἤχθετο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου

fortifying the country and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed out the two victories at Nepheris and the more recent one at Hippagreta, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They also sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that after Carthage they too would be attacked by the Romans. They further sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigour and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed, their designs grew unbounded, and they gained in confidence, courage, and resources from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and had twice got the better of Manilius, was also in high spirits. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches.

CHAP. XVI

XVII

112. When the ill-success of Piso and the preparations of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious about this great and implacable war, waged with a nation so

CHAP XVII

CAP. XVII μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἄπιστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύῃ χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμηντο ὕπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ' ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων (οὐ γάρ πω δι' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν μετῄει, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὕπατον ᾑρεῖτο. παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπείθετο λῦσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἓν αὖθις ἀναγράψαι, οἷόν τι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λύοντες ἐν χρείᾳ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἁλόντων περὶ Πύλον, ἔφασαν· "κοιμάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον." οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀγορανομίαν μετιὼν ᾕρητο ὕπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τις τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῇσδε τῆς στρατηγίας τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων,

near to them. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the recent exploits of Scipio, while still a military tribune, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The elections were drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the aedileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and were still more urgent, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law and reenact it after one year. In like manner the Lacedemonians when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the aedileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, bade him cast lots to determine which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes proposed that the appointment to this command should be made by the people, and they chose Scipio. They allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost

Scipio elected consul

CAP. XVII ἐθελοντὰς δ' ἄγειν ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκιμάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὓς ἔλαβεν οὕτω παρά τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει· Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκῖνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελούμενον ἰδών, οὗ κρημνοὶ προύκειντο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μέν, καί τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνῆλθον εὐτόλμως· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέῳξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοί τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ γενομένης, ὅ τε Μαγκῖνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὢν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἅμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐβοηδρόμουν ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ γυμνοί. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἅμ' ἕῳ πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

114. Σκιπίων δ' ἑσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκῖνος

in the war, and as many volunteers as he could persuade to enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion, and in consequence he did obtain some assistance from them.

B.C. 147

113. Having made these arrangements, Scipio sailed first to Sicily and thence to Utica. Piso, in the meantime, was laying siege to the towns of the interior. Mancinus, who was blockading Carthage, observing a neglected part of the wall, which was protected by continuous and almost impassable cliffs and had been neglected for that reason, hoped to scale the wall secretly by means of ladders. These being fixed, certain soldiers mounted boldly. The Carthaginians, despite their small numbers, opened a gate adjacent to these rocks and made a sally against the enemy. The Romans repulsed and pursued them, and rushed into the city through the open gate. They raised a shout of victory, and Mancinus, transported with joy (for he was rash and giddy by nature), and the whole crowd with him, rushed from the ships, unarmed or half-armed, to aid their companions. As it was now about sunset they occupied a strong position adjacent to the wall and spent the night there. Being without food, Mancinus called upon Piso and the magistrates of Utica to assist him in his perilous position and to send him provisions in all haste, for he was in danger of being thrust out by the Carthaginians at daylight and dashed to pieces on the rocks.

He saves Mancinus from destruction

114. Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet

CAP. XVII ἔγραφε, τόν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἠχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνεληλύθεσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας Ἰτυκαίων· ὅσοι δ’ ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τριήρεις καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἔς τε τὸν Πίσωνα ἱππέας ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἑστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδ’ ἔπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος, ἅμ’ ἕῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μέν, οὓς μόνους εἶχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὖσι, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι’ ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὤφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ῥοθίῳ τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσαι καὶ μεσταὶ πανταχόθεν ὁπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ᾐσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαίοις δ’ ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι· μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκῖνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἔπεμψε (καὶ γὰρ ἧκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος), αὐτὸς δ’ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἑξακισχιλίους

to sound for battle immediately, and the heralds to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older men to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea himself, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of greater numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides, and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being pushed over the precipice when Scipio's fleet came in sight, amidst terrible clouds of spray, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief, for when the Carthaginians drew back a little, he took those who had been in peril on board his ships. He then at once sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and himself pitched his camp not far from Carthage, while the Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry-general,

CAP. XVII πεζοὺς ἄγοντες καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.

115. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὔκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἁρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἄλλο τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οἳ τῆς λείας χάριν ἑπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἰοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορρωτέρω σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὗτοι, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἑτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχάς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὧν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζων οὔποτε κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσειε, συνήγαγεν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς ἐπέπληξεν ὧδε.

116. "Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὠφέλιμον δ' ἡγούμενος προαγορεῦσαι. ἴστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε· καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι; λῃστεύετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφᾶν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἔτι, οὐ νενικηκότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὗ κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται

with 6000 foot-soldiers and about 1000 horse well trained and seasoned. CHAP. XVII

115. Scipio, finding no sort of discipline or order in the army, which Piso had habituated to idleness, avarice, and rapine, and a multitude of hucksters mingled with them, who followed the camp for the sake of booty, and accompanied the bolder ones when they made expeditions for plunder without permission (although in the eyes of the law everybody was a deserter who went out of hearing of the trumpet in time of war); seeing also that the commander was held to blame for all their mistakes and that the plunder they took was the cause of fresh quarrels and demoralization among them, since many of them fell out with their comrades on account of it and proceeded to blows, wounds, and even murder—in view of all these things and believing that he should never master the enemy unless he first mastered his own men, he called them together and mounting a high platform reprimanded them with these words:— Demoralization of the army

116. "Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have power to punish the disobedient with the utmost severity, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. Avarice has made you more like a set of holiday-makers than a besieging army. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is Scipio's speech to his soldiers

CAP. XVII δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ῥαστώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν οὔσας ἑώρων, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐκόλαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθημι ἑτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφίημι τῶν μέχρι νῦν γεγονότων. ἥκω δὲ οὐ ληστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὐδὲ χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον ἐξεργασόμενος. ἄπιτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὅσοι μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' ἐξιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτην στρατιωτικήν τε καὶ ψιλήν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ὡρισμένος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὄντα διαθήσονται, καὶ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἐπιμελησόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἓν ἔστω παράγγελμα κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος· πρὸς γὰρ τόδε κατευθεύνοντες αὑτοὺς οὔτε προθυμίας ἁμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρέποντα καιρὸν ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οἴσει πολλὴν ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII 117. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπήλαυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν. καθαροῦ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς

won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labour has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you at once, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to make money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be plain soldiers' food. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quaestor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be posponed to their proper time. This I command and the law as well. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it."

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

Scipio restores discipline

117. Having spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, useless, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly

CAP. XVIII καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μιᾶς διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ᾽ ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεζευγμένον· ἐς ὃ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρους περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ᾽ αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀψοφητί, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ᾽ ἄνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ᾽ ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτός τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὡς τῷδε πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγῆναι, τοσούτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἤνυεν, ἐς δέ τινος ἰδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἳ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τετρακισχιλίοις, καὶ φυγη ταχεῖα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἁλούσης. βοή τε ἐγίγνετο ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὡραίων ἔγεμεν, αἱμασιαῖς τε καὶ

intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he himself advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When quite near, they were sighted from above, and a shout was raised from the walls. They shouted back—first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side—as loudly as possible, so that the Carthaginians were now for the first time alarmed when they found themselves suddenly attacked in flank, in the night, by this large hostile force. In his attack on the wall, however, Scipio, in spite of his efforts, accomplished nothing; but he sent some of his bravest young men to a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. These men with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4,000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, thinking that the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside also left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls and hedges of brambles and thorns, besides deep

He captures Megara

CAP. XVIII

θριγκοῖς βάτου καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετοῖς βαθέος ὕδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατάπλεων ἦν) ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερὲς ᾖ στρατῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καί τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο. ἀνεζεύγνυε δή.

118. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγών, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα Ῥωμαίοις ἔμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλώττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοῖα σιδηρίοις ἐξεῖλκε καμπύλοις, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα, καὶ πάντας ἔμπνους ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἀφῃρημένον ἐμίσουν· καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκείαις τοσαῖσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὢν ἤδη περιδεὴς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιῆλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἕξων, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.

119. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὃν τῇ προτέρᾳ κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευεν αὐτὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,

ditches full of water running in every direction, Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads with which they were unacquainted, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew.

Cruelties of Hasdrubal

118. When daylight came, Hasdrubal, enraged at the attack upon Megara, took the Roman prisoners whom he held, brought them upon the walls, in full sight of their comrades, and tore out their eyes, tongues, tendons, or private parts with iron hooks; of some he lacerated the soles of the feet, of others he cut off the fingers, and some he flayed alive, hurling them all, still living, from the top of the walls. He intended to make reconciliation between the Carthaginians and Romans impossible, and sought to fire them with the conviction that their only safety was in fighting: but the result was contrary to his intention. For the Carthaginians, conscience-stricken by these nefarious deeds, became timid instead of courageous, and hated Hasdrubal for depriving them even of all hope of pardon. Their senate especially denounced him for committing these savage and outrageous cruelties in the midst of such great domestic calamities. But he actually arrested some of the complaining senators and put them to death. Making himself feared in every way he came to be more like a tyrant than a general, for he considered himself secure only if he were an object of terror to them, and for this reason difficult to attack.

Scipio's intrenched camp

119. Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across

CAP. XVIII ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὁρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐργαζομένῳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἑτέραν ὤρυσσε τάφρον ἴσην, οὐ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας διασχών, ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἑτέρας περιθεὶς ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὅλον ὄρυγμα τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ξύλοις ὀξέσιν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁρώσῃ καὶ τεῖχος παρῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν δυώδεκα ποδῶν χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπέκειντο τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἥμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ ὕψους. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πύργος ὑψηλότατός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύλινος ἐπέκειτο τετρώροφος, ὅθεν καθεώρα τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶν ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰξ ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον αἱρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τόδε τὸ χαράκωμα.

120. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπίμηκες, ὅθεν ὁρμώνενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφῃρεῖτο Καρχηδονίους, ὅση κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῷδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδὼν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγίγνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ξένων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπ-

it from sea to sea not more than a spear's cast from the enemy. They pressed him hard, and he was faced with the difficult task of working and fighting simultaneously along a front of twenty-five stades. When he had finished this trench he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others at right angles to them, so that the whole ditch formed a quadrangle, and filled them all with sharp stakes. In addition to the stakes he also palisaded the ditches, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, not counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was in the middle, and upon this another of wood, four storeys high, was built, from which he observed what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within this fortification.

He cuts off the supplies of Carthage

120. This was at the same time a camp for himself and a long fort commanding the enemy's country, while from this base he could intercept the supplies sent to the Carthaginians from the interior, since Carthage was everywhere washed by the sea except on this neck. Hence this fort was the first and principal cause of famine and other troubles to them. For as the whole multitude had removed themselves from the fields to the city, and none could go out on account of the siege, and foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war,

CAP. XVIII ἰόντων, μόνῃ τῇ τῆς Λιβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μέν ποτε καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὡραῖον εἴη, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφῃρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομιδήν, ἐπιπόνως ᾔσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δέ, ὅσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεῖν μὲν ἢ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἐτόλμα, περιφέρων δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσὶν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ἀλλ' οὔτε διηνεκῶς οὔτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὡς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρά τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἐκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὅθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐθελοκινδύνως ἠπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπετασμένοις τοῖς ἱστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν ἔτι τῶν τριήρων ὁλκάδας φερομένας ἱστίῳ καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέροιεν αἱ νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὓς ἐς μάχην ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεφρόνει· ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

121. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἔσπλουν αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορῶντα καὶ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλεῖσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχον μακρόν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας ἣ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὖσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊὼν

they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favourable, but the greater part being forwarded by the land route; so that being now deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt of attacking and breaking through Scipio's fortifications, but sent the supplies a long way round by water. Although Scipio's ships were blockading Carthage they did not keep their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as the sea was harbourless and full of reefs. Nor could they ride near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong wind from the sea, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances occurred seldom, and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. And even these supplies brought by the ships Hasdrubal distributed exclusively to his 30,000 soldiers whom he had chosen to fight, neglecting the multitude; and for this reason they suffered greatly from hunger.

He attempts to close the harbour, but fails

121. When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbour, which looked towards the west and was not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning from the strip of land which lay between the lake and sea, and was called the tongue, and advancing it seawards

CAP. XVIII δ' ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν. ἔχου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τὸ μὲν ἄνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου· προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦδε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἔδεισαν, καὶ στόμα ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὤρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἷ μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσσον δ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, ἔνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πάνυ λανθάνοντες· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐψυχίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἅπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρείαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἑτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα ἀνέῳξαν περὶ ἕω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριηρετικαῖς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβερῶς.

122. Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ἄφνω γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἠμελημέναις τε ὡς

straight toward the harbour's mouth. He made it of numerous heavy stones so that it might not be washed away by the waves. The embankment was twenty-four feet wide at the top and four times as wide at the bottom. The Carthaginians at first despised this work as likely to take a long time, and perhaps impossible of execution altogether. But when they saw all the great army proceeding eagerly with it, and not intermitting the work by day or by night, they became alarmed, and began to excavate another entrance on the other side of the harbour facing the open sea, where it was impossible to carry an embankment on account of the depth of the water and the fury of the wind. Even the women and children helped to dig. They began the work inside, and carefully concealed what they were doing. At the same time they built triremes and quinqueremes from old material, and left nothing to be desired in the way of courage and high spirit. Moreover, they concealed everything so perfectly that not even the prisoners could tell Scipio with certainty what was going on, but merely that there was a great noise in the harbours day and night without ceasing; what it was about they did not know. Finally, everything being finished, the Carthaginians opened the new entrance about dawn, and passed out with fifty triremes, besides pinnaces, brigantines, and smaller craft equipped in a way to cause terror.

122. The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which had been neglected during the siege operations, neither sailors nor

CAP. XVIII ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ' ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι. νῦν οὖν (ἁλῶναι γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδόνα) τότε μὲν ἐς μόνην ἐπίδειξιν ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τἄλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε λοιπῷ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦς, πληγαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίγνετο παρ' ἀμφοῖν μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρᾳς. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τὰ σκάφη τῶν Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ναυσὶ μεγάλαις οὔσαις ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτρη πρύμνας καὶ ἐξέκοπτε πηδάλια καὶ κώπας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἐλύπει, εὐμαρῶς τε ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιπλέοντα. ἀκρίτου δ' ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὔσης, και τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς δειλην τρεπομενης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν, οὔ τι κατὰ ἧτταν ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερτιθεμένοις.

123. Καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν προλαβόντα ἐς ἄλληλα ὠθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείζους ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἔσπλουν ἀφῄρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐμπόροις ἐς διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ παρατείχισμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο,

rowers being at hand, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But as it was (since it was fated that Carthage should fall) all they did now was to sail out and make a show, and, after flouting the enemy in a pompous way, to return inside the harbour; but three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and everything else in good order. Loud were the cheers on both sides as they came together, and rowers, steersmen, and marines exerted themselves to the utmost, this being the last hope of safety for the Carthaginians and of complete victory for the Romans. The fight raged till midday, many blows and wounds being given and received on both sides. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats, running against the oarage of the Roman ships, which were taller, stove holes in their sterns and broke off their oars and rudders, and damaged them considerably in various other ways, advancing and retreating nimbly. But when the battle was still undecided, and the day verged towards evening, the Carthaginians thought best to withdraw, not that they were beaten, but in order to renew the engagement on the morrow.

Indecisive naval engagement

123. Their small boats retired first, and arriving at the entrance, and becoming entangled on account of their number, blocked up the mouth so that when the larger ships arrived they were prevented from entering. So they took refuge at the wide quay, which had been built against the city wall for unloading merchant ships some time before, and on which a small parapet had been erected during this war lest the place might sometime be used as a

CAP. XVIII ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τόδε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορίᾳ λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὡρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους ἦν ῥᾴδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἑστώσαις εὐμαρές, αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαί τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίγνοντο· ὅθεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷδε τὰ ὅμοια (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιεν, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων), μέχρι νῆες Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἳ φιλίᾳ Σκιπίωνος εἵποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἁψάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσίᾳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμψειαν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπώμεναι κατὰ πρύμναν, αὖθις τε ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρύμναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τὸν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὁρῶντές τε καὶ μιμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.

124. Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχειρει τῷ χώματι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὔκαιρον ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοῖς οὖν το παρατείχισμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι, νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ

camping place by the enemy on account of its spaciousness. So when the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbour, they anchored with their bows outward, and as the enemy sailed up their attack was met partly by the men on the ships, partly by those on the quay and others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for whenever they turned they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetae, which followed out of friendship for Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then they again ran on the tide, and again retreated stern foremost. After this the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetae, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginian ships withdrew to the city, as many of them as were still left.

Desperate fight for possession of a quay

124. At daylight Scipio attacked this quay because it was well-situated to command the harbour. Assailing the parapet with rams and other engines he beat down a part of it. The Carthaginians, although oppressed by hunger and distress of various kinds, made a sally by night against the Roman engines, not by land, for there was no

CAP. XVIII γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὐδὲ ναυσὶν (ἀλιτενὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα), ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δᾷδας ἔφερον, οὐχ ἡμμένας ἵνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ᾗ μή τις ἂν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένεον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἅτε γυμνοὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης· οἳ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ὥσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβουμένους. ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐ πρίν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δείσας ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἔξω περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιεν τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ οὓς ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἕως οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδιότες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξένεον αὖθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.

125. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδόνιοι μέν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν σφᾶς ἔτι μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος ᾠκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἐποίουν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἑτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανὰς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοῖς πύργοις, δᾷδά τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῖον ἐν κώθωσι καὶ πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδο-

passage-way, nor by ships, for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being unarmed suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Athough the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as they had never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. Some of them he killed himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing the desperation of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home.

125. When daylight returned the Carthaginians, no longer molested by the engines, rebuilt that part of the outwork which had been battered down and added to it a number of towers at intervals. The Romans constructed new engines and built mounds in front of these towers, from which they threw upon them lighted torches and vessels filled with burning brimstone and pitch, and burned some of them, and drove the Carthaginians in flight. The

CAP. XVIII νίους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ δρόμος ὑφ' αἵματος πεπηγότος ὑπογύου τε καὶ πολλοῦ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς αὐτὸ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἰσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

126. Χειμῶνος δ' ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμίν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἑτέρωσε ἑτέρους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδρούβαν φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἠπείγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος ἠπείγετο· ὅθεν ἐς Νέφερίν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἧκεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὄπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἑτέροις ἐκ μετώπου τρισχιλίοις, ἀριστίνδην καὶ τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις, ἐπέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκνοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἑπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ

footway, however, was so slippery with all the clotted blood lately shed, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. But Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge missiles and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with impunity. As the walls were of equal height the missiles were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

Scipio captures Nepheris

126. At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nepheris against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal's successor, going by the lake, while sending Gaius Laelius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to attack Diogenes unceasingly, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes' towers were demolished, Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy's rear, and making a frontal attack with 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, advanced against the demolished ramparts, not bringing up his men *en masse*, but in detachments one after the other, so that even if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was

CAP. XVIII βοῆς οὔσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προείρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἔνδον γενομένων αἴσθησις ἐγίγνετο ταχεῖα, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ Λίβυες, οὐχ ὅσους ἑώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέονας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχων σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἑπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἁλῶναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφερις ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πολιορκηθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάνυ κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τόδε μάλιστα συνήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἅλωσιν. ἥδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Λίβυες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρουν. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Λιβύης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος προσεχώρει ἢ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἥ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας ἤδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διά τε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν χειμέριον οὖσαν.

XIX

CAP. XIX 127. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ

made vigorously with loud shouts, and when the attention of the Africans was turned in that direction, the 1000 in ambush, unperceived and unsuspected, fell boldly upon the rear of the camp, as they had been ordered, and tore down and scaled the palisade. When the first few had entered they were quickly detected, and the Africans fled, thinking that many more than they saw had entered. Gulussa pursued them with his Numidian cavalry and elephants and made a great slaughter, as many as 70,000, including non-combatants, being killed. Ten thousand were captured and about 4000 escaped. In addition to the camp the city of Nepheris was taken also, after a further siege of twenty-two days, prosecuted by Scipio with great labour and suffering owing to the wintry weather and the coldness of the locality. This success contributed much to the taking of Carthage, for provisions were conveyed to it by this army, and the people of Africa were in good courage as long as they saw this force in the field. As soon as it was captured the remainder of Africa surrendered to Scipio's lieutenants or was taken without much difficulty. The supplies of Carthage now fell short, since none came from Africa, which was now hostile, or from foreign parts, navigation being cut off in every direction by the war and the storms of winter.

XIX

CHAP. XIX

127. At the beginning of spring Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbour called Cothon. Hasdrubal

CAP. XIX Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δ' ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τόδε τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεστραμμένων, ἔλαθε Λαίλιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθών. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἤδη καταφρονοῦντες ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Κώθωνα τείχους, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδέν τε ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ πλέον ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διενυκτέρευσε μεθ' ἁπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑτέρους ἀκμῆτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχιλίους, οἳ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ τό τε ἄγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δῶμα αὐτῷ χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἕως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐτράποντο.

128. Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἡ σπουδή· τὸ γὰρ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἑξώροφοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρώτας τῶν οἰκιῶν κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δ' αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενωπῶν ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ

one night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Laelius, expecting Scipio still to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, and the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans recklessly forced their way up on all sides, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighbouring forum, and being unable to do more, as it was now evening, he and his whole force passed the night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords and disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

Scipio takes the inner harbour

128. Now Scipio's main object of attack was Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the Forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six storeys high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. But they captured the first few houses, and from them attacked the occupants of the next. When they had become masters of these, they put timbers across over the narrow passage-ways, and crossed as on

Fighting in the streets

CAP. XIX πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ἄνω, ἕτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσί, καὶ ζώντων ἔτι ῥιπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἢ αἰχμὰς ἄλλας ἢ ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἧκεν ὁ Σκιπίων· καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ πιμπράμενον ἑτέροις ὁδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν' εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

129. Ἄλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὄψις ἑτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δε ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομηματα οὐ διαιρούντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ὅ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺ πλείων ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀθρόοι νεκροί. ζῶντές τε ἕτεροι, πρεσβῦται μάλιστα καὶ παιδία καὶ γύναια, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμίφλεκτοι, φωνὰς ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἕτεροι δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὕψους μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὠθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπῶντο ῥηγνύμενοί τε καὶ κατασπασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη· λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἀξίναις καὶ κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλόν τε καὶ ὡδοποίουν τοῖς διαθέουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τούς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους

bridges. While one war was raging in this way on the roofs, another was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them falling on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Scipio reached Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passage-ways clear of burning material so that the charging detachments of the army might move back and forth freely.

Scenes of horror

129. Then came new scenes of horror. The fire spread and carried everything down, and the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by little, but pulled them all down together. So the crashing grew louder, and many fell with the stones into the midst dead. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering horrible cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder into all kinds of horrible shapes, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and boat-hooks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, sweeping them along like

CAP. XIX ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἣν τε ἄνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχοντα τῆς γῆς ἤσπαιρον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἔπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἑκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδρων ἑκόντες· ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοῦ καὶ σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἔνθους ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὁρωμένων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.

130. Καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἓξ ἡμέραι τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἵνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ἀηδοῦς, Σκιπίωνος δ' ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος ἀύπνου, καὶ σῖτον οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἱρουμένου, μέχρι κάμνων καὶ παρειμένος ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ, τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πορθουμένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια· τόδε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ὅθεν οἵδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ

sticks and stones or turning them over with their iron tools, and man was used for filling up a ditch. Some were thrown in head foremost, while their legs, sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners either do these things on purpose; but the press of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the confused noise of heralds and trumpeters all round, the tribunes and centurions changing guard and marching the cohorts hither and thither—all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacle before their eyes.

Fighting in Byrsa

130. Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of turmoil, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, standing over them or hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food anyhow while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of very long duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Aesculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare merely the lives of all who were willing to depart on this condition from Byrsa. This he granted to all except

CAP. XIX ἐξῄεσαν αὐτικα μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχίσματος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογνόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων ἀρρένων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς ἀεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, διὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἑξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ ὅ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθῄρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.

131. Κἀν τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ' ὡς εἶδον, ᾔτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεὼν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἁπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένην, κατακοσμήσασθαί τε ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένην τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· "σοὶ μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖε· ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας· Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οἵ τε Καρχηδόνος δαίμονες ἀμύναιντο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων." εἶτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρέψασα εἶπεν· "ὦ μιαρὲ καὶ ἄπιστε καὶ μαλακώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ

the deserters. Forthwith there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Aesculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they defended themselves a long time with ease although they were few in number, on account of the height and precipitous nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, weariness, and the approach of destruction, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

Hasdrubal and his wife

131. Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly fled to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arraying herself as best she could amid such disaster, and setting her children by her side, said, so as to be heard by Scipio, "For you, Romans, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. But upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children.

CAP. XIX τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψει· σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβον ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνος ἡγεμών; τίνα δ᾽ οὐ δώσεις δίκην τῷδε ᾧ παρακαθέζῃ;" τοσαῦτ᾽ ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτούς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρριψεν.

132. Ὧδε μέν φασι τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆσδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν ἴσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἥ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιῃρημένη τρισὶν ὅμως ἔτεσιν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῷδε καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ᾽ ἔννους ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχής ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους,

"ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ᾽ ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο."

Πολυβίου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ (καὶ

But as for you, what Roman triumph will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. With these words, it is said, did the wife of Hasdrubal die, as Hasdrubal should have died himself.

Destruction of Carthage

132. Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, as rich in arms and fleets, elephants, and money as the mightiest empires, but far surpassing them in hardihood and high spirit (since, when stripped of all its ships and arms, it had sustained famine and a mighty war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction—Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the inevitable fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon the fate of the Assyrian, the Median, and afterwards of the great Persian empire, and, most recently of all, of the splendid empire of Macedon, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:—

Scipio sheds tears

"The day shall come in which our sacred Troy
And Priam, and the people over whom
Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all."[1]

Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for

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[1] *Iliad* vi. 448, 449; Bryant's translation.

CAP. XIX γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος) ὅ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα, ἐς τἀνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδίει.

XX

CAP. XX 133. Καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει· Σκιπίων δ', ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μέν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἅπασι, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἁμαρτόντων, ναῦν ὀξυτάτην κοσμήσας λαφύροις ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγιγνώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγώγησεν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τὴν περισσήν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἄρει καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ διαζωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἔκαιε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

134. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπήδων καὶ διενυκτέρευον μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἡδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὡς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ' ἄρχοντες ἑτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οἵαν οὔτινα πρότερον

Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, Polybius says that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

XX

133. CARTHAGE being destroyed, Scipio gave the soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave numerous prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. The rest of the spoils he sold, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.

Rejoicings in Rome

134. When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as they had never won before. They

CAP. XX ἄλλην νίκην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνῄδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δε τοῖς πατρασιν ἔς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἔναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν· πόλεμον δ᾽ οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ᾔδεσαν, διά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὧν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔν τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπί τε τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ἀλλήλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδὼν κατέσκαπται· ἐλεσχήνευόν τε δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα περιῃρέθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἕτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφῃρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς, τό τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὠρύξαντο ἕτερον ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὕψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὁρῶντες ἄρτι γιγνόμενον ἀλλήλοις διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις,

remembered many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself; but they knew of no other war which had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, high spirit, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Remembering these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they conversed the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians had been taken away from them, and how at once, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others: how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbour was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. In fact they pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the

CAP. XX πανταχοῦ διαθεοντα. οὕτω μὲν οι Ῥωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν, 135. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ θυσίαι τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ φυλήν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.

Δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀριστους ἔπεμπε διαθησομένους Λιβύην μέτα Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων συμφέρον· οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον ἅπασι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα· ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἁπάσας· καὶ ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, χώραν ἔδωκαν ἑκάστῃ τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίοις τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἱππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιπέμπειν ἔκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ και συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνενηνόχεσαν ἐς

gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. Thus did the Romans pass the night. 135. The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds.

The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. These men decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should raze it to the ground, and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Imprecations were levelled against any who should settle there, or at Megara, but the ground was not declared accursed. The towns that had allied themselves consistently with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all the territory extending from Carthage on one side to Hippo on the other was given to the Uticans. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike, and it was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these directions had been given by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and crowned with all the statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of

Scipio's triumph

CAP. XX Λιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἁλόντος Ἀνδρισκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἤγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

136. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, Γαΐου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληρούχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἑξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις, ὁπότε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὑπ' ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολὺν ἰδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράψασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλούντων, συνέτασσεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ' ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν θᾶσσον ἀνῃρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνῴκισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν

the world during their long period of continuous victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andriscus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad.

136. Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate abandoned the settlement. But at a still later time it is said that Caesar, who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and the poor asking him for land, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Julius Caesar, surnamed Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000

B.C. 123

B.C. 46

Carthage rebuilt by Augustus

CAP. XX αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν αὖθις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.

CHAP. XX

colonists from Rome and collected the rest from the neighbouring country. And thus the Romans won the Carthaginian part of Africa, destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 102[1] years after its destruction.

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[1] The date proves that it was Julius Caesar, not Augustus, who repeopled Carthage.

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